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Lives
of the
Queens of **E**ngland

VOLUME XV

Imperial Edition

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Queen Anne

*After the Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller now in
Windsor Castle*

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Vol. 15

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST

*FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORDS
AND OTHER PRIVATE AND PUBLIC
AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS*

BY

AGNES STRICKLAND

PRECEDED BY A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION BY

JOHN FOSTER KIRK

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES, WITH PLATES

VOLUME XV

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LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

ANNE, QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

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THE contest between good and evil does not affect the human mind so powerfully as the struggle between rights. The lives of the daughters of James II., placed in contradistinction to the Jacobite cause, present strong illustrations of this axiom of ethics. On either side, right has been

loudly pleaded. In behalf of the daughters may be urged, that they found it requisite to support the interests of Protestantism against their father and his religion. Many who believed in the actual danger of the church of England have sympathized with them, and will continue so to do; others will judge them according to the standard of common humanity and moral duty. It is this contest which invests the Jacobite cause with its undying interest.

Wheresoever the influence of royal personages has effected great changes in national property, the light of truth, respecting their private characters and motives, is prevented from dawning on historical biography for centuries after such persons have passed onward to eternity. The testimony of either losers or winners becomes suspicious, vested interests bias the recording pen; for which causes certain characters have remained enveloped like veiled idols, to which were offered clouds of incense in the semblance of baseless panegyric, or they were hooted at through countless pages of vituperation, in which facts are concealed with sedulous care. Slowly and surely, however, time does its appointed work. Royal personages, in stirring epochs, cannot always give their orders *vivâ voce*; letters and autographs are kept in self-defence by their agents, and these, given to the public long after the persons they would compromise—nay, even after their great-grandchildren—have passed away, cast the required light on characters purposely concealed. Lo! the veiled idols cast aside their mysterious shrouds, and assume the semblance of humanity—erring and perverse humanity, perchance, but yet more attractive and interesting than the mere abstract idea the political historian has given. They are thus seen, not as expediency has painted them, but as they were in life, subject to the same passions and infirmities as ourselves, and acting according to the impulses of anger, generosity, ambition, grief, tenderness, disappointment, revenge, and avarice. These impulses, of course, produced varied and even contradictory actions, which, however, when related according to the testimony of eye-witnesses, as much as possible in their very words, are found to blend together into a

course of narrative by no means outraging probability, when one fact is viewed according to its connection with another. Yet there are two adverse parties in this country, each imagining that the continuous narrative of facts must be prejudicial to their present interests; each have chosen their political idols, or their reprobated characters, from the royal personages that have existed from the days of Henry VIII. It is most curious to watch the attempts of these parties to force the inexorable past to comply with fancied expediency,—conduct which has had the natural effect of hitherto exiling many important characters from their proper stations on the pages of historical biography, one party wholly refusing to listen to any wrong of its idol, and the other to any right of its victim. Now, if the one faction insists upon snatching all the black, and the other all the white, which, classical metaphor affirms, make the blended thread of human life, where is an honest narrator, willing to present that mingled twine, to look for any material?

Away with these childish wranglings with the unalterable past! Facts regarding the queenly sisters, both of Tudor and of Stuart, remain extant, defying all attempts to stifle them, guarded in manuscript among our archives, or those of France. Incidents may be told maliciously or apologetically; in both cases the author's comment may stand in absurd contradiction to quoted authority, but these deviations from the majestic simplicity of rectitude will have the consequence of disgusting the public, and will ever render a narrative unreadable. Can a more absurd spectacle exist than when the comments of writers appear at open war with the facts they have just cited from documents?

Although the parliamentary change in the law of the succession to the crowns of Great Britain did not permit the princess Anne to occupy her place for years as the natural heiress of her childless sister, Mary II., still the death of that queen drew the princess insensibly into a more ostensible position, and rendered her public life more important, notwithstanding her habitual feebleness of pur-

pose, arising from infirm health and bad education. It has been shown, in the preceding biography, that the establishment of the princess Anne was merely like that of a private person, her sole distinction being derived from her only child, who was recognized by parliament as heir to the throne after Mary II., William III., and herself. The princess, despite of her sister's remonstrances, pertinaciously continued to lavish favor on the lady Marlborough, and on lord Marlborough for her sake; she likewise continued to write letters professing duty and loyalty to her father, who, having suffered much from her previous conduct in the Revolution, was dubious regarding her sincerity. Her conduct as a wife and mother gives a more estimable view of her disposition than her political career as a member of the royal family. Anne was perfect in all her conjugal and maternal duties, sacrificing even her personal ease to nurse and attend on her husband and son, when either was suffering from ill health. She was likewise a gentle and indulgent mistress to her dependants in her household, even to those whom she did not view with any particular favor. It is true that no evidence exists of her kindness or benevolence in the early period of her life, or the least trait of feminine tenderness or sympathy towards any living creature not included in the narrow circle of her home, neither is a single instance of charity quoted; but as such virtues appeared indisputably directly she emerged from under the overpowering dominion of the Marlboroughs, no doubt can exist that the imperious favorite kept the good qualities of her mistress as much in the shade as she brought out her evil ones in strong relief.

At the close of 1694 the princess Anne was residing with her son at Campden house, close to the back gate of Kensington palace, in a state of health that precluded not only invigorating exercise, but progression of any kind: she could only move as she was carried. When it was declared, on Christmas-day, 1694, that her sister, queen Mary II., was dying of the small-pox, the first care of the princess Anne was to remove her child from the infected vicinity of Kensington palace, where many of the royal

household were suffering from the same pestilence which threatened to be fatal to the queen. At that period the small-pox had neither been modified by the discovery of inoculation nor vaccination; there was no escape from its terrors but in flight. The princess Anne, therefore, had her son conveyed to her town residence, Berkeley house, directly she ascertained the nature of the queen's malady. The princess herself was secure from danger, having in her youth encountered the disease, at the time of the marriage of her sister¹ with the prince of Orange in 1677.

When the recovery of the queen was declared utterly hopeless, vast crowds of the nobility and gentry then resident in London, in consequence of this report, took the opportunity of its being Christmas-day to pay their compliments of the season at Berkeley house, and at the same time to make their court to the princess Anne.² Most of these flatterers had for years passed her by with utter neglect; but now, by swarming round her, indicated infallibly the sudden improvement in her prospects, owing to the mortal danger of her royal sister. Queen Mary's courtiers had previously affected to consider the probabilities of the prospects of Anne and her boy to the succession as very remote indeed; they had calculated that, according to all human chances, the sickly life of William III. would be but a short one, that his royal widow would marry again, and then it was possible that very great changes might happen regarding the heirs to the crown. It may be remembered that queen Elizabeth was beset with a similar influx of visitors, who besieged her retreat at Hatfield when her sister queen Mary was at her last gasp: she always mentioned the circumstance with irrepressible disgust. Such movements seem to have been customary in English court routine, and courtiers had not improved in delicacy or disinterested attachment at the close of the seventeenth century.

Three days subsequent to this extraordinary influx of courtiers the princess Anne received the tidings of her

¹ Life of Mary II., vol. xiii. chap. i.

² Inedited MSS., Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

sister's death. Her ungrateful favorite, Sarah of Marlborough, was certainly present when the news came, for she, when impelled by pique, afterwards asserted that the heart of the princess was hard, and that she never saw her shed a tear or manifest an emotion of tenderness, on that or any other occasion. A witness of humbler degree,¹ however, declares that the princess was deeply affected by the loss of her sister, and that she felt very bitter grief. He says that her tears were flowing fast when she sent for her little son, the duke of Gloucester, and communicated to him the demise of his royal aunt. On this occasion, Lewis Jenkins, who was the young duke's attendant in waiting at Berkeley house, owns that he was much disappointed at the utter want of sympathy manifested by the child, whose insensibility to the loss of queen Mary, with whom he had been familiar as a frequent visitor and petted plaything, greatly scandalized all his mother's ladies.² But such is often the case, when similar communications are made to young children: "What should they know of death?" as Wordsworth pathetically asks. All they can be aware of is, that the person they have been used to meet returns no more; yet, if they actually witness mortal suffering, and the demise of one they have been accustomed to see, such grief and terror is more than their tender natures can bear. Insensibility to tidings of death is therefore a merciful dispensation of Providence in favor of children, and they ought not to be blamed for their usual indifference to facts, of which they cannot form an abstract idea; neither do they comprehend that "to affect a sorrow though they feel it not," is a conventional decency that is expected from them. The young heir of England was at this time little more than five years old, and all that ought to be said is, that he received the important intelligence, which agitated every adult in the kingdom to which he was the reversionary successor, like every other infant of his age.

The personal aversion that William III. had ever dis-

¹ Lewis Jenkins's Life of the Duke of Gloucester: Tracts, Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

played towards his sister-in-law, Anne, it is well known was met by equal loathing on her part; yet the dispensations of Providence had rendered the king in some degree dependent on the forbearance of her who was very lately the object, not only of his contempt, but of actual persecution. The princess was, however, in the most pitiable state of health, rendered still more painful by muscular infirmity. Premature old age had fallen upon her; she was, moreover, suffering grief for the deplorable death of her sister,—perhaps not the less because Mary had departed in a state of enmity to her. The royal sisters had loved each other fondly, as well in early womanhood as in infancy, and every one knows that when such has been the case, if the grave closes over an object once loved and irrevocably lost, all the involuntary affections awake, and melt the soul into natural grief. Although but one simple-minded menial mentions the sorrow of Anne, yet his testimony may be implicitly believed, because it is in full accordance with her actions, and with the movements of the human heart. The desperate grief of William III. for the loss of his devoted wife was touching, even to one whom he had hated and persecuted, because he mourned for her on whose account the heart of the princess was sore and sad. It is certain that Anne took the first step in the reconciliation that ensued between herself and her brother-in-law, and it is as certain that it was wholly against the will and wishes of her imperious ruler, Sarah of Marlborough, who thus spoke her mind on the subject:—"I confess, for my own part, that in point of respect to the king (and to the queen when living), I thought the princess did a great deal too much, and it often made me very uneasy."¹ This testimony is of some value in regard to the private character of the princess Anne, since it proves that she had always to strive against domestic tempters whenever she was desirous of doing her duty, if not to the king and queen, at least to the people of Great Britain, for the miseries arising from foreign war would have been infinitely aggravated by court factions flaming out into civil war.

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 112.

William obstinately remained at Kensington palace,¹ instead of following the usual royal etiquette of leaving the abode where death was triumphant to the defunct, and to the attendants presiding over the funeral ceremonies. No person, even those most familiar, dared break on his mental anguish, which was aggravated by the consciousness that he had not only lost in Mary the most devoted wife and friend, but an indefatigable agent and able regal ruler, whose study it was to adorn him with the praise and credit due to her own great talents; and, with all this, he had lost the only shadow of hereditary right that pertained to his sceptre. Henceforth he felt that he should hold no higher rank in Great Britain than he had done in Holland,—that of a mere elective magistrate, “whom a breath had made, and a breath could unmake.” Such was the mood in which, on the day of his dreadful bereavement, the king was sitting at the end of his closet at Kensington palace, absorbed in an agony of grief more acute than could have been expected from his disposition. Lord Somers, whose private and personal interests were deeply connected with the support of William’s regality, entered the room, but the king took not the least notice of him. Somers plunged at once into the cause of his intrusion, by proposing to terminate the hostility that the court had for years maintained against the princess Anne. “My lord, do what you will; I can think of no business,” was the reply of the king.² Lord Somers took this sufferance for consent: he negotiated the reconciliation with the old treacherous courtier lord Sunderland, once, as we have seen, the object of the hatred of Anne;³ he was now, in a manner of which history presents few examples, acting *incognito* as prime-minister, and as such he was the agent of the political armistice she concluded at once with the English government, and with her inimical brother-in-law, William III.

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 110.

² Letter of Mrs. Burnet to the duchess of Marlborough, quoted p. 58, vol. i. of Coxe’s Life of Marlborough. We have vainly searched for the original.

³ See her letters of extreme aversion regarding Sunderland and his wife, addressed to her sister Mary, quoted chapter ii. vol. xiii.

The princess Anne, by the advice of Sunderland, wrote to king William the following letter :—

THE PRINCESS ANNE TO KING WILLIAM III.¹

“SIR :—

“I beg your majesty’s favorable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow for your great affliction in the loss of the queen ; and I do assure your majesty, I am as sensibly touched with this sad misfortune as if I had never been so unhappy as to have fallen into her displeasure.

“It is my earnest desire your majesty would give me leave to wait upon you as soon as it can be without inconveniency to you, and without danger of increasing your affliction, that I may have the opportunity myself, not only of repeating this, but of assuring your majesty of my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving you constant proofs of my sincere respect and concern for your person and interest, as becomes, sir,

“Your majesty’s affectionate sister and servant,
“ANNE.”

This formal and rather polished missive brings direct evidence that queen Mary actually died at enmity with her sister, for it mentions her displeasure without the least allusion to any reconciliation having taken place between them. The letter must be considered as a mere piece of state-machinery, conducive to the coalition of two political parties, and by no means illustrative of Anne’s personal feeling. The favorable reception of her royal highness’s condolence was negotiated by archbishop Tennison, who probably presented it to the king, as from this time that prelate took an active part in this treaty of amnesty. The circumstance of the deceased queen having confided to the charge of archbishop Tennison the casket that contained her letter of remonstrance to the king, concerning the anguish that his preference of her maid Elizabeth Villiers had given her during the whole of her married life,² caused that prelate to exercise extraordinary power over William III. at this crisis, and indeed for the rest of his life. Irritable and impracticable as the king was in regard to all remonstrance, or even implied contradiction, he permitted henceforth the archbishop to use great freedom in lecturing him.

The letter of the queen has hitherto eluded research. The only historian³ who ever read it did not deem it *proper*

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 108.

² Coxe’s Shrewsbury Correspondence.

³ Sir John Dalrymple.

for publication, neither could he comprehend the allusions the queen made to persons unknown. Had her majesty been less reserved in her lifetime, it is possible that her husband would have altered his conduct, especially after their establishment in England, since, in deference to Dr. Tennyson's remonstrance, he actually broke his *public* intimacy with Elizabeth Villiers, and about a twelvemonth afterwards gave her in marriage to a nobleman base enough to take her.¹ It is said, in the course of the same year, that the lady expressed herself greatly surprised why she never saw the king after the death of the queen.² As her majesty had endured her wrongs silently while in life, it seems

¹ Shrewsbury Correspondence, edited by Coxe. Elizabeth Villiers married lord George Hamilton, fifth son of the duke of Hamilton. William III. created him earl of Orkney, the worthy pair being enriched by the spoils the wife had gathered from her royal paramour. All that is known regarding the personal qualifications of the rival of Mary II. is left by the graphic pen of lady Mary Wortley Montagu:—"Mrs. Villiers had no beauty, but she contrived to thaw the phlegmatic heart of William III., and make him very bountiful, by granting her the private estates in Ireland belonging to his uncle, James II. After the death of her royal lover she became a high tory, if not a Jacobite, and was very busy with Harley and Swift in expelling the whigs." Swift calls her "the wisest woman he ever knew," and leaves her portrait as a legacy in his will. We presume it did not exactly correspond with that sketched by lady Mary, whose wit was equalled, if possible, by her malice. She describes her walking at George II.'s coronation:—"She that drew the greatest number of eyes was indisputably lady Orkney; she displayed a mixture of fat and wrinkles, and no little corpulence. Add to this the inimitable roll of her eyes, and her gray hairs, which by good fortune stood directly upright, and it is impossible to imagine a more delightful spectacle. She had embellished all this with considerable magnificence, which made her look as big again as usual." So far lady Mary; but she does not finish the most noted portion of the lady Orkney's adventures at the accession of George II., but left it to a wit wickeder than herself, Horace Walpole, who affirms that lady Orkney thought fit to present herself in queen Caroline's drawing-room which succeeded the coronation with two ladies, each her equal in evil notoriety, being the infamous duchess of Portsmouth, then in extreme old age, and Catharine Sedley, countess of Dorchester. As was natural, the virtuous matronage of England left these women to their own society, and they found themselves forming a triangular group, and standing by themselves. Their isolation was noted by the coarse audacity of Catharine Sedley with a loud laugh, and an exclamation, in her own shameless phraseology, at the odd chance that had brought three women of their character all together in the same room. Lady Orkney's remarkable rencontre with the duchess of Portsmouth and lady Dorchester in queen Caroline's coronation drawing-room seems the last public act of her eventful life.

² Devonshire MSS.; letters of lady Halifax, 1695.

enigmatical why she should make her complaints known, not only to her unfaithful husband when remedy was impossible, but to the newly-appointed archbishop, Tennison, to whom they were both almost personal strangers.¹ There can be but one explanation: the queen must have dreaded lest her husband should marry her rival, and took this means of preventing it. In the course of a few months after the marriage of Elizabeth to Orkney, the king was as intimate with her as ever, and she was as busy in public affairs; ² but to prevent the animadversions of archbishop Tennison and the English court, the lady took the trouble of meeting his majesty at Loo.

Archbishop Tennison did not confine his exertions to the reproof and conviction of the sin, which her late majesty had commissioned him to bring home to her husband, during the first consternation occasioned by her loss, for bishop Kennet informs us that "His grace the new archbishop of Canterbury, on this favorable opportunity to reconcile the royal family, represented to his majesty the prudent and loyal conduct of her royal highness and the prince of Denmark during their recess from court; that they had been so far from giving any obstruction to his majesty's affairs, that they were always in the same public measures with him; and that those members of either house of parliament who had places [in their households], had always appeared forward in promoting his majesty's interest." All this the king knew to be mere factless verbiage, although archbishop Tennison might believe it to be true. King William was as well aware as those who have read our transcripts of Anne's letters, and those of her confidant, Marlborough, to St. Germain's, what was the real nature of their devotion to his interest. His majesty, however, with his usual sagacious appreciation of minds of their cast, placed surer reliance on their fidelity to their

¹ The resemblance between the names of "archbishop Tillotson" and "archbishop Tennison" has led our Edinburgh reviewer into an odd historical mistake; but Tennison really was a personal stranger to both the king and queen, as Burnet expressly points out, owing to the sudden death of his predecessor Tillotson, the intimate friend of both majesties.

² Bibl. Birch, vol. 4245, p. 108.

own interests, which were at this juncture inextricably linked with his own. The archbishop therefore offered the foregoing reasons "as comment on the letter of the princess," not only without interruption, "but worked so effectually on the heart of the king, that, as a mark of his favor and affection, he did immediately present her royal highness with most of the late queen's jewels; and his sorrow for the loss of so good a wife was, in some measure, alleviated by the reconciliation of so kind a sister."¹ The bishop of Peterborough, who records this remarkable pacification, lived too near the time to view events in their true light. According to an inedited authority of some importance,² the interview took place the day *before* the king received the condolences of parliament on the death of the queen. Whensoever reconciliation between the princess Anne and king William took place, the time was appointed through the intervention of archbishop Tennison.³

The princess came to Campden house, and from thence was carried in a sedan-chair to Kensington palace. It was impossible for her to walk a step; her sedan and bearers, therefore, brought her into the very presence of the royal widower. Lewis Jenkins was in waiting at that time as one of her ushers: he walked by the side of the sedan of her royal highness, and as she could not move without assistance, he was perforce witness to the first meeting of these kindred enemies. "When the princess waited on the king at Kensington palace," says Lewis, "her royal highness was forced to be carried up-stairs in her chair to the presence-chamber. I, as was my duty, opened the door of her chair, and upon her entering, the king came and saluted her. She told his majesty, in faltering accents, that 'she was truly sorry for his loss.' The king replied, that 'he was much concerned for hers.' Both were deeply affected, and could not refrain from tears, or speak distinctly. The king then handed the princess *in*, who stayed

¹ White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, p. 674, vol. iii. He does not mention either the date of the visit of Anne, or the visit itself.

² Jacobite Portfolio; Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

³ Lewis Jenkins: Tracts, Brit. Museum.

with him three-quarters of an hour.”¹ The interview of the bereaved sister and husband probably took place in the king’s private sitting-room, or closet, since it was strictly private. Had it proceeded in the presence-chamber, many eyes and ears would have been on lawful duty, and the whole conference would have been matter of history; instead of which, no particulars further than the simple detail of the usher, Lewis, have ever transpired. But the commonest capacity can divine that then and there the widower king and his sister-cousin came to an understanding that the island crowns could never be transmitted to the duke of Gloucester without his majesty and her royal highness suppressed all memory of the mutual injuries they had inflicted, and stifled the disgusts which each felt against the other, and combined their personal and political interests once more against James II. and his son. King William was even reduced to submit to an amnesty with the object of his moral contempt and loathing, the earl of Marlborough, who was undoubtedly in diplomatic co-operation with his old ally, Sunderland, throughout the whole movement, although he durst not appear ostensibly in it, because his imperious wife had set her face against it.

There is no inconsistency in attributing to William III. the contempt he never attempted to conceal for such deeds as led Marlborough and his wife to the ascent of the ladder of wealth and ambition. Whether the royal diplomatist ever scanned his own conduct with equal severity, is another question; but it was among the peculiarities of his singular character to be minutely fastidious regarding honor, fidelity, truth, high spirit, and integrity in man, as well as of virtue, beauty, grace, and fine temper in woman. Perhaps it was part of the punishment of the crowned politician, to see himself, before he left this world, deprived of or deserted by the few he loved or esteemed, and allied with all he despised and abhorred. The faithful friend of his youth, Bentinck lord Portland, for some mysterious reasons withdrew himself from all possible communication with his once beloved master, and after the peace of Ryswick

¹ Lewis Jenkins : Tracts, Brit. Museum.

seldom visited him, excepting on formal business. History tells us that Bentinck was out of favor with William III.; but the true sources and well-springs of biography will show, in the course of a few pages,—thanks to the candor and liberality of one of England's greatest nobles, who has thrown open to us those in his keeping,—that William III. was out of favor with Bentinck, and that no courting, no solicitation, could win this only surviving friend back to his former habits of confidential affection, although, when urged, he sometimes held conferences with him. Bentinck was, at this juncture, consulted officially regarding his opinion of the pacification between his king and the princess Anne and her partisans; His response was an earnest warning against any trust being put in the professions of either the princess or the Marlboroughs. Nevertheless, the fact that lord Marlborough was one of the high contracting powers of this political reconciliation is proved by one of the duke of Shrewsbury's letters to admiral Russell. "Since," he says, "the death of Queen Mary, and the reconciliation between the princess Anne and king William,¹ the court of the latter is as much crowded as it was before deserted. She has omitted no opportunity to show her zeal for his majesty and his government, and our friend Marlborough, who has no small credit with her, seems very resolved to contribute to the continuance of this union. He has not yet kissed the king's hand."² It was not probable that king William, oppressed as he was with personal grief and political care, could endure the intrusion of the man for whom his scorn and dislike had hitherto proved uncontrollable; and if

¹ The duchess of Marlborough says the interview took place quickly after the queen's death. Macpherson does not mention it; neither does White Kennet describe or date the interview. Barnard relates it before he quotes the addresses, on which he bestows no date. Lewis Jenkins seems to imply that the interview between the king and princess took place within a few hours of the queen's death. The inedited paper in the Jacobite Portfolio, found for us by the kind exertion of M. Champollion, Bib. du Roi, Paris, says it took place the day *before* the parliamentary addresses, and the natural current of circumstances leads us to believe that this is the truth. In general history the date is not mentioned; Burnet slurs over the whole occurrence.

² Coxe's Shrewsbury Papers.

William III. had heretofore abhorred Marlborough, before he had received aught but benefit from him, purely for his treachery to James II., what could have been his feelings towards him after he had betrayed Tollemache and his troops to slaughter at Camaret bay? However, time was given to the king to stifle the indignation which his own line of conduct scarcely justified him in manifesting, and the change of his affairs, by the death of his queen, obliged his majesty to be subsequently not only tolerant to lord Marlborough, but, if we may trust printed history, courteous and caressing.

The house of peers went in a body to Kensington palace, on Monday, 31st of December, and presented his majesty with an address, deploring the death of the queen:—¹

“We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do, with inexpressible grief, humbly assure your majesty of the deep sense we have of the loss your majesty and the whole kingdom doth sustain by the death of that excellent princess, our late sovereign lady the queen, most humbly beseeching your majesty that you would not indulge your grief on this sad occasion to the prejudice of the health of your royal person, in whose preservation not only the welfare of your own subjects, but all Europe, is so much concerned.”

To this address his majesty was pleased to give this “decent answer:”—

“I heartily thank you for your kindness to me, but much more for the sense you show of our great loss, which is above what I can express.”

The house of commons arrived in person the same afternoon at Kensington, with an address similar to that of the lords, but longer and more laudatory in regard to the queen, recommending, withal, attention to his own preservation with greater earnestness. To which the royal widower was pleased to reply:—

“Gentlemen, I take very kindly your care of me, especially at this time, when I am able to think of nothing but our great loss.”²

January passed on, but the royal widower remained still inconsolable, for the pitying duke of Shrewsbury, while bewailing his own complication of personal maladies, wrote again to admiral Russell:—

¹ White Kennet’s Hist., vol. iii. p. 674.

² Ibid.

"You will excuse me not writing to you with my own hand, which I can scarcely do at present. Certainly there never was any one more really and universally lamented than the queen, but the king particularly has been dejected beyond what could be imagined; but I hope he begins to recover out of his great disorder, and that a little time will restore him to his former application to business. . . ."¹

"The misfortunes of my own, joined with the affliction his majesty has been under, and still expresses to a passionate degree, has hindered me from making any steps towards what you commanded me in your late letters. I dare not yet be too bold in writing to him."²

The concourse of courtiers that flocked to Berkeley house, for the purpose of worshipping the rising fortunes of the princess Anne and her son, excited the derision of the party that had remained staunch to their interests while their prospects were not so promising. A ludicrous incident occurred at one of these levees. Lord Caernarvon, a nobleman who was considered as half-witted, felt some jealous astonishment when he saw the crowds that filled the reception-rooms of the princess, which occasioned him to say aloud, as he stood close to her in the circle, "I hope your highness will remember, that I always came to wait on you when none of this company did."³ This speech caused a great deal of mirth, which was not decreased by the fact that some of the time-servers appeared out of countenance.

The pacification between the princess and the king had not occurred too soon, for the adversaries of the revolutionary government had already begun to moot the point of whether Anne was not, at this period, queen of Great Britain and Ireland *de facto*? On this question, agitated by M. Renaud, French minister for Jacobite affairs, a reply was made to him from the French cabinet, emanating apparently from James II.:—"The king⁴ finds your reflections on the death of the princess of Orange well founded; but it appears that, if the declarations of the lords and commons, assembled at Westminster February 13, 1689, are examined thoroughly, one cannot come to the same conclusion as you do,—namely, 'that the princess Anne has been

¹ Coxe's Shrewsbury Correspondence, pp. 218, 219.

² Ibid., p. 218.

³ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 110.

⁴ Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris: inedited MS.

queen ever since the 7th of this month,¹ the day of the death of her sister the *princess of Orange* [Mary II.], and that the prince of Orange, as a naturalized Englishman, is *her subject*,¹ since it is said by this act, ‘that the exercise of the royal power will be vested solely in his person, but in the names of both the prince and princess of Orange;’ and such was during their lives. We shall discuss this matter more at large when we come to Paris, which will be next week. I have the idea, as well as you, that there is somewhat to be done, for I cannot lose all hope of the good intentions of the English.”

The people at large, in fact, testified many symptoms of what was called, by the king over the water, “good intentions.” Wheresoever the terrors of the standing army did not extend, as in Norwich, Warwick, and many other distant provincial places, the populace were agitated with the convulsive throes of civil war. Lancashire was in open revolt. The Jacobites in St. Germain and Great Britain believed that the English would never practically suffer their sceptre to pass from Anne, the next Protestant heir, to a king who was merely elective. The example of the elective kingdom of Poland, then tottering to its fall, was not an inviting one to any part of the people, who were not likely to draw pecuniary profit from the liberty of electing kings. The preceding centuries had witnessed in the Germanic empire similar miseries to those which were even then desolating Poland. These were motives which would have impelled many persons to join the party of the princess Anne, rather than suffer any precedent to exist for subjecting England to the frequent recurrence of the corrupting anarchy which is the constant scourge of nations whose rulers are elective. Many of the Jacobites would have joined the party of the princess Anne from a romantic idea that her first movement would have been, if placed on the throne, to resign in favor of her father and brother, since her letters to her father were generally known among

¹ New style is here reckoned. According to the computation of time then used in England, Mary II. died December 28, old style; the despatch is dated January 21, 1695, N. S.

the party. Such considerations may serve to show how formidable was the crisis, which passed favorably owing to the prompt pacification of king William and the daughter of James II. Arrests of the most active among the Jacobite agitators of the public peace promptly followed the stable settlement of the revolutionary government. Oglethorpe, the same leader of the party who had reviled queen Mary on the memorable night of the fire of Whitehall, was as busy among them as the petrel in a storm, and, like that bird, he still flew free from danger himself. "Mr. Oglethorpe," wrote the indefatigable Renaud,¹ "has almost entirely supported Crosby in prison, who has confided to him the letters [to the Jacobites] in England, which have since been destroyed by that gentleman. Oglethorpe has since aided the escape of divers of our people; among others, of a young lady, a relative of *Mr. Jones*,² who has been employed in sundry political messages seldom confided to persons of her sex. All this became known to the prince of Orange [William III.], who gave orders to arrest her, and she was thrown in prison."

The Gazette now began to bear witness to the king's recognition of the rank of the princess Anne, by the insertion of such notices as the following, which were the visits of condolence for the death of her sister, queen Mary, paid her by all the foreign ministers resident in London:—"January 31, 1694. This evening count Aversberg, envoy-extraordinary from the emperor, had his first audience of her royal highness the princess of Denmark, as also of the prince, being introduced by sir Charles Cottrell, master of the ceremonies; and the viscount de Font Arcada, envoy-extraordinary from the king of Portugal, was conducted to his audience of their royal highnesses in the same manner."³

The only son of the princess Anne was considered by the

¹ Inedited MS., Bib. du Roi, Paris; dated January 19, 1695, N. S.

² King James, who is often thus designated in ciphered correspondence.

³ There are many other paragraphs concerning audience to envoys who waited on the princess on this occasion; it is thought not worth while to copy any more, —the Spanish, Danish, Dutch, etc.

world promising in person as well as intellect; and though the princess knew his health was fragile, yet she had seen too many transitions from pining infancy to robust adolescence wholly to despair of one day beholding the coronal of the principality circle the brow of her Gloucester. Such expectations once more hardened the heart of the princess Anne to its original temperature towards her father and the rival prince of Wales. Her penitent letters to her exiled parent having been merely instigated by revenge against William III., her actions now proved that she found it more profitable to be the friend than the foe of the monarch of the Revolution. The princess, nevertheless, continued the correspondence with her father, and even continued to make promises which she intended not to fulfil. James II. was not deceived when this second alliance with his enemy took place, for he thus notes the circumstance in the journal of his life:—¹ “The princess Anne, notwithstanding her professions and late repentance, appeared now to be more satisfied that the prince of Orange [William III.] should remain, though he had used her ill and usurped on her rights, than that her father, who had always cherished her beyond expression, should be restored. But his own children had lost all bowels of compassion and duty for him.

¹ Life of James II. Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. i. p. 244. It is desirable to mention that these notations, which described the deposed king's inmost thoughts and feelings, are of a more personal nature than the memoir of public events edited by the Rev. Stanier Clark, and published under the patronage of his late majesty George IV. His faithful servant, Nairne, preserved the king's advice to his son Berwick, which is one of his best literary productions, and is totally free from any doctrinal bigotry. It is a solemn warning “not to follow his example in sinning, but in repenting.” Nairne appends in explanation of the paper, “it was the constant practice of my royal master, James II., ever since he first appeared in the world, to write short notes from time to time of all that was remarkable in the affairs wherein he had any share; these memoirs of events, which occurred before his last escape out of England, have been happily preserved, although writ on loose papers, and they may possibly serve hereafter as materials for an authentic and complete history of his life, they being safely kept, by his majesty's order, in the library of the Scotch college at Paris. But these writ by him since the Revolution are of a different nature from the former. In the first, he sets down what passed abroad in the world wherein he was concerned; in these, he describes what passed within his own soul. It may be truly said that his own picture is to be seen in them drawn to the life, as it was in his later days.”

He was much afflicted at the manner of his eldest daughter's death." He adds, "that he made no effort to disturb the revolutionary government when it took place."

The state-funeral of the late queen did not occur until March 5, 1694-95. No part was taken in this high ceremonial by the princess Anne, or even by her husband.¹ The duchess of Somerset filled the place of the former as chief mourner; this precedence devolved on the duchess as the wife of the duke of Somerset, surnamed the Proud, who was first peer of the English blood-royal, by descent from lady Katharine Gray. The princess Anne herself, had there been no other reasons, could not follow as chief mourner; she was actually unable to walk, being infirm and unwieldy in person from a complication of dropsical maladies. Her sufferings were, however, supported by the hope that she was once more likely to increase her family, in which she was finally deceived.² The reasons of the exclusion of prince George of Denmark from the precedence at the royal funeral which his rank and affinity as a near kinsman of Mary II. demanded (if only their mutual descent from Frederic II. of Denmark³ be considered) has never been explained. Among the banners carried round the royal defunct which marked her alliance with the royal blood of Europe, that of Denmark seems to have been omitted.⁴ Although Mary survived archbishop Tillotson but a month, she had faithfully redeemed her promise to him, by settling a pension on his widow.⁵ Mrs. Tillotson was left but in narrow circumstances, for the archbishop, her husband, had possessed his great preferment little more than three years. In the course of this short period, the example of the great charity of his predecessors, Sheldon and Sancroft, had been followed as far as the actual main-

¹ White Kennet's History, vol. iii. p. 682.

² Lewis Jenkins.

³ Father of Anne of Denmark, Mary II.'s great-grandmother, and of Christian IV., prince George's great-grandfather.

⁴ White Kennet gives a minute account of the ceremonial, but makes no mention of the prince of Denmark, or of any alliance of the queen by blood with the Danish royal family being manifested by banner or bannerol.—Vol. iii. p. 682.

⁵ Ibid.

tenance of a wife and family would permit; therefore he left no fortunes for them from the goods of the church.

The king, who had no longer the partner of his throne to rely on as his faithful regent in his absence, was forced to submit to the loss of most of the power that the Revolution had left to the royal functions; nevertheless, there was no intention manifested of giving the princess Anne any share in the government during the long absences of his majesty as general of the confederated armies of Spain and Germany against France. In fact, the English oligarchy, since the death of Mary II., had attained the object which the writings of Marvel, Shaftesbury, and many other of the minor political pamphleteers had long aimed at. The regal power was vested in a council of nine, after the model of the Venetian Council of Ten. Among the governing junta of nine regents was included the archbishop of Canterbury. A long lapse of years had intervened since any prelate had shared in the government of this country. The step was probably taken in consideration of the deep veneration testified by the princess Anne for the church, and on the calculation that her royal highness was not likely, during the king's absence, to unsettle, by the agency of her faction, any administration in which an archbishop of Canterbury was concerned. That influential class, the writers of doggerel lampoons, vented their spleen on this occasion by an abusive epigram to the following effect:—

“THE NINE KINGS.

“Wills wafted to Holland on some state intrigue,
Desirous to visit his Hogans at Hague;
But lest in his absence his subjects repine,
He cantoned his kingdoms, and left them to Nine,—
Eight ignorant peers and a blockish divine.”¹

The princess Anne slowly recovered her health, and with it the use of her limbs and power of progression without assistance. She made efforts to suppress, by the violent exercise of hunting, and by the practice of cold bathing, the tendency to corpulence which her habits of self-indulgence had brought upon her. Some traditionary traces

¹ MS. Harleian.

still remain that such was the case. A bath-house, in a shabby old street between Soho square and Long-acre, named 'New Bolton street,' has lately been laid open in the course of the improvements in St. Giles's; it is called by tradition 'queen Anne's bath.' The water is considered very salubrious, and is brought by pipes from Hampstead to a well-constructed bath in the aforesaid street, neatly finished with Dutch tiles, and retaining the traditional name of 'queen Anne's bath' to this hour. It is nevertheless improbable that Anne resorted to this place when she was in possession of the palace of St. James and all its appurtenances, either before or after her disgrace with king William; it was most likely her occasional bath-room when she resided at Berkeley house.

In regard to exercise, the princess Anne, whensoever the muscular infirmity occasioned by access of gout and dropsy did not incapacitate her, was as indefatigable a huntress as queen Elizabeth. Anne had, from an early period of life, been accustomed to pursue this diversion with her father in the parks of Richmond and Windsor. After she had been barred, by the enmity of her brother-in-law and sister, from all approach to Windsor castle and park, she purchased a cottage lodge not far from the royal residence,¹ and every summer hunted the stag in Windsor forest. There is a noble oak among its glades which used to have a brass plate affixed to it, intimating that it was called 'queen Anne's oak,' for beneath its branches she was accustomed to mount her horse for the chase, and view her officials and dogs assembled for the stag-hunt.² But these equestrian feats had been discontinued since the birth of the duke of Gloucester, her enormous increase of size having precluded them. Anne, whether as queen or princess, after that period followed the chase in a light one-horse chair, constructed to hold only herself, and built with enormously high wheels.³ In this extraordinary and dangerous hunting-equipage she has been known to drive her fine strong hack-

¹ Duchess of Marlborough's MSS.; Coxe Papers, British Museum.

² Pyne's Palaces.

³ Swift notes this practice only a few months before her death.

ney forty or fifty miles on a summer's afternoon. It is well known that Louis XIV. and his successors, during the last century, were accustomed to hunt in the forests of St. Germain and Fontainebleau in phaetons and cabriolets; how matters were arranged between them and the stag in such cases, we leave those more learned in field-sports than ourselves to decide. Notwithstanding the straight avenues in which the chases and forests of France are cut, likewise those of Hampden Court and Windsor to imitate them, the chaise-hunting of Anne, and the phaeton-hunting of the French kings and their courts, remain to us historical mysteries.

Whilst the king was absent (and he never remained a whole year in England), the case became rather embarrassing how the council of regency were to conduct themselves, if they happened to be by any chance altogether in the presence of the princess Anne, and, as most of them were her particular friends, and held the great state-offices, this was not unlikely. As the whole together represented the majesty of the English government and sovereignty, it was according to etiquette for them to sit, and the princess to stand in their presence. This dilemma was, however, successfully modified by observing that a quorum (or four members) of this body never entered collectively the presence of the princess, who was thus able to retain her seat at her own receptions, as three persons of the council of regency were not entitled to this homage.¹ Anne, who was herself the most rigorous observer of court etiquette, expressed her obligation to the lord keeper for this considerate arrangement.

It has been asserted, that when the princess paid her remarkable visit of condolence to the king, his majesty had formally invited her to take up her residence at St. James's palace, the usual abode of the heir to the throne of Great Britain. Years, nevertheless, intervened before she left Berkeley house, which was but a hired dwelling, to take possession of the ancient palace of her ancestors, when an event occurred of an extraordinary nature: the princess

¹ Roger Coke, p. 126, vol. iii.

had before been plundered by highwaymen; she was now robbed by burglars. The mysterious disappearance of her great silver cistern, worth 750*l.*, from Berkeley house, was advertised in the 'Postman' in the spring of 1695. It was discovered in the possession of a distiller of some wealth at Twickenham, who was afterwards tried and convicted of the robbery.

The young duke of Gloucester continued to reside at Campden house, on account of its salubrity and its bracing air, which was withal so mild that in sheltered spots in the grounds the wild olive,¹ being planted, was seen growing vigorously, and enduring the severity of English winters and springs. The health of the young prince, who was the hope of Protestant England, was of so very precarious a nature, that it was desirable to keep him not only in the most salubrious locality, but as much retired as possible from the view of the people, whose attention had been, since the death of queen Mary, anxiously directed towards him. The real cause of the little prince's ill health was water on the brain. "His head was extremely long and large," says his biographer, "which made him very difficult to be fitted with a peruke!" His hat, poor infant! at five years old, was large enough for most men. It was the terrific malady of hydrocephalus that prevented him from walking freely, long after the time when children usually run alone. The complaint seems to have been little understood, because when, ever and anon, the suffering child craved the assistance of two persons to lead him on each side, especially when he went up and down stairs, his demand of support was treated as mere idle whim. Doubtless, the movement of the water at such times gave him vertigo; but the prince of Denmark was either advised to treat the child's caution of retaining assistance near him under his agonizing infirmity as an effeminate caprice, or he had worked his temper up to violence. The princess shut herself up with her little son for more than an hour, trying to reason with him that it was improper to be led up and down stairs at the age of more than five years.

¹ Miller's Gardener's Dictionary, first edition; *art.* olea.

She led him into the middle of the room, and told him "to walk, as she was sure he could do so;"¹ he obstinately refused to stir, without being led by at least one person. The princess then took a birch rod, and gave it to prince George, who repeatedly slashed his son with it in vain; at last, by dint of severe strokes, the torture made him run alone. The little invalid, who had never before felt the disgrace and pain of corporal punishment, ever after walked up and down stairs without requiring aid.² The whole circumstance was revolting, for the difficulty is, in general, to keep a child of such age from perpetually frisking, in its exuberance of animal spirits. Great indeed must have been the agony and confusion of the young prince's head before this natural vivacity could be extinguished; nor could the struggle induced by cruelty have been likely to strengthen him, but, on the contrary, it would have greatly inflamed and aggravated a malady like hydrocephalus.

The cruelty in that era regarding education was one of its most disgusting and demoralizing features, too much of which is still retained in public schools; but such discipline exercised towards children in health seems light indeed when compared to the regimen prescribed and administered by the prince of Denmark to his infirm child, in his utter ignorance of the physiology of disease. The prince, probably, was stimulated by his dread of the lampoons and caricatures which had become efficient weapons of party attack in England. Since the day when Shaftesbury promulgated an axiom worthy of him, that "ridicule is the test of truth," lampoons had become positively atrocious at the close of the eighteenth century. Every calamity that poor frail human nature is heir to was held up to public scorn, in the most loathsome language or coarsest limning, by hired party scrawlers, who, merciless as demons, were as active in calumny at that era as persons of the same fraternity were, subsequently, in the French revolution. We may be proud of the age we live in, when

¹ Lewis Jenkins's *Memoirs of the Duke of Gloucester*: *Brit. Mus.*

² *Ibid.*

the tone of the periodical press of the present day is contrasted with the party strife in those centuries, which, in its malignant spirit of assault, spared no human suffering, and neither considered age nor sex if it could excite that species of mirth which debases the human face far below the brutes, to whom laughter is denied. Prince George of Denmark knew that the worst of the Jacobites in England would retaliate on his child all the brutalities that were daily issued against 'the young Pretender,' if his infirmity in walking became matter of public discussion.

The habits of life of the little duke of Gloucester had been strangely divided between the feminine cherishing and petting that the princess, his mother, and her ladies thought needful to preserve his fragile existence, and the rudeness and ferocity which the prince, his father, considered ought to be inculcated into the mind and manners of the heir of a kingdom, where the cry of war prevailed over every other sound, and where brute strength and animal bravery were valued far above wisdom, benevolence, and even that majestic attribute of royalty,—moral courage. The father, it has been seen, sought to whip a dire disease out of the young prince; the princess, on the contrary, if she only saw him totter as he crossed the room, expressed by the fading of her color and the cold dew breaking on her brow, that her maternal fears amounted to agony.¹ During the spring and summer of the same year when prince George had forced the unfortunate child to walk, and go up and down stairs without the support his sad malady craved, illness attacked him repeatedly, owing to his preternatural exertions to seem robust and rollicking, when pain and infirmity insisted on their due. His illnesses were attributed to every cause but the evident one; even the smell of some harmless leeks was supposed by the sapient establishment of the prince and princess to have given him a fever.

The princess Anne, as in old times, wore a leek on St. David's day, and the little Gloucester, to whom a leek had been given to put in his hat, was curious regarding the

¹ Lewis Jenkins.

why and wherefore. He was not content with his artificial court-leek of silk and silver, but insisted on seeing the plant. Jenkins, his Welch usher, was charmed at having an opportunity of introducing the famous edible of the principality to the notice of the future prince of Wales. The child played with the bundle of leeks, by tying them round a toy-ship he had, which was large enough for his boys to climb the masts; he then, being thoroughly tired, threw himself down and fell asleep. He awoke very ill, and the greatest alarm prevailed at Campden house¹ among the ladies, that the future prince of Wales had been poisoned by the smell of leeks on St. David's day. Doubtless the Jacobites, of whom there were more than one in the household, deemed it a judgment. Dr. Radcliffe was sent for from Oxford, at fiery speed. The princess Anne was terrified; she was not then able to walk, but was carried up into the chamber of her sick son in her sedan-chair, with short poles. Dr. Radcliffe, when he came, declared that the young duke had a fever, but he recovered in nine days. The fever was, however, soon succeeded by a relapse, which again confined the child to his bed. The ladies sought to amuse the little invalid by presents of toys; while the male attendants, who, with his small soldiers, were permitted to surround his bed,—probably by the desire of the prince of Denmark, his father,—were of the hardening faction, and devised sports of a different nature. The boy-soldiers were posted as sentinels at his door; tattoos were flourished on the drum, and toy fortifications builded by his bedside. So far, so well; but the zeal of the ladies of the princess, in seeking for him quieter amusements, produced a scene in opposition not remarkably edifying. Mrs. Buss, the nurse of the princess his mother, who had previously purchased all his toys (filling at that time the office of privy-purse in the household at Campden house), thought proper to send him by Wetherby, one of his chairmen, an automaton, representing prince Louis of Baden fighting the Turks. As the young duke had given up toys since the preceding summer, his masculine

¹ Lewis Jenkins.

attendants started the idea that the present was a great affront, and it was forthwith sentenced to be torn to pieces,—an execution which was instantly performed by the sick duke's small soldiers. The next notion adopted was, that the messenger ought to receive condign punishment for the crime of bringing a doll to the hope of England. Wetherby, the chairman, however, taking warning by the ungracious reception of the present, had not waited for this determination, but decamped, and rushing down Campden hill, had taken refuge in some hospitable nook in the depths of Kensington town. In the course of the afternoon he was discovered and captured, and being detained all night in prison, the duke of Gloucester¹ ordered him to be brought into his presence next morning for sentence, which he pronounced. Wetherby was bound hand and foot, mounted on the wooden horse, and soused all over with water from enormous syringes and squirts. As four grown men, besides the small soldiers, were engaged in this execution, resistance was vain, and the victim received no mercy, because he had been the foremost in playing off similar practical jokes on others, for the amiable pastime of the heir to the British throne. When Wetherby was half-drowned with his shower-baths, his tormentors drew him on the horse into the bedroom of the sick duke of Gloucester, who exceedingly enjoyed the sight of the man's woful condition.

The princess was extremely solicitous that her young son should never repeat any vulgar or profane expressions in his conversation; her precepts on which head, it may be supposed, were not much heeded while he witnessed similar amusements conducted by Robin Church and Dick Drury, the drunken and swearing coachmen, aided by the running footmen and chairmen of the palace, such functionaries being, in that era, many grades less civilized than their class at the present day. The fruits of this companionship soon were manifest by the conversation of the infant prince, which was garnished with expressions very startling to the ladies of the household of the princess.

¹ Lewis Jenkins.

The duchess of Northumberland,¹ when one day visiting her royal highness, was greeted by the little duke, in return for her caresses, with some expletives which were anything but appropriate to courtly circles. The princess Anne was roused by this incident into strict inquiry as to the persons that had corrupted the conversation of her little son. She was told that he learned his ill language by hearing his small soldiers "becall one another."² After the evil had taken root, the princess in vain exercised almost teasing vigilance respecting its recurrence; but coarse and profane language on the lips of a child in those days was considered to give hopeful promise of a warlike manhood. One day her royal highness was receiving a visit at her toilet from her little son, when he informed her that he was "confounded dry."—"Who has taught you those words?" demanded the princess. "If I say Dick Drury,"³ whispered the duke of Gloucester to one of his mother's ladies, "he will be sent down-stairs. Mamma," added he aloud, "I invented them myself." Another time, at one of these toilet-visits, the young prince made use of the expletive, "I vow." The princess, his mother, demanded "who he had heard speak in that manner?"—"Lewis," replied the duke. "Lewis Jenkins shall be turned out of waiting, then," said the princess Anne. "Oh, no, mamma," said the child; "it was I myself did invent that word, now I think of it." Surrounded as the royal boy was with attendants, having a preceptor who was a clergyman, likewise a chaplain who called himself his own, he appears to have learned the first elements of the Christian religion by mere accident. Prayers, it is true, were read every day at eleven o'clock by his preceptor, Mr. Pratt, before he took his reading lesson; but to these the young duke positively refused to give his attention, simply because he could not understand what they meant. That no explanation had been given to him,

¹ Wife of George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland, Anne's illegitimate kinsman.

² Lewis Jenkins.

³ The duke of Gloucester's coachman.

satisfactory to his infant mind, is apparent by his docility when instructed by a person who was in earnest.

Change of air had been recommended by Dr. Radcliffe, in the summer of 1695. The princess inquired for houses at Epsom, Richmond, and Hampstead; at last, her own early reminiscences led her to prefer Twickenham, but she no longer had the command of the old palace where she was nursed. She was offered, for her son's household and her own, a pleasant mansion, an adjunct formerly belonging to the queen's manor-house opposite to Twickenham church, held in crown-lease from Catharine of Braganza by Mrs. Davies, an ancient gentlewoman of Charles I.'s court, who was more than eighty years of age. She was aunt to the old earl of Berkeley, and consequently great-aunt to the governor of the little prince, lord Fitzharding. She was devout, and lived an ascetic life on herbs and fruit, although a lady of family and property. Simple as were her habits, she enjoyed a healthy and cheerful old age. All the fields and hedgerows of the estate, consisting of sixteen acres, she had caused to be planted with beautiful fruit trees. The cherries were richly ripe when the princess came to Twickenham, and the hospitable owner gave the individuals of the princess's household leave to gather as much fruit as they pleased, on the condition "that they were not to break or spoil her trees." The caution was not misplaced, for the young duke of Gloucester's regiment of boys followed him to Twickenham; but their exercises were confined to the ait in the Thames, nearly opposite the church. When the princess had resided at this lady's seat for a month, she told sir Benjamin Bathurst to take a hundred guineas, and offer them to their aged hostess in payment for rent and for the trouble which she and her people had given, but the old lady positively declared she would receive nothing. Sir Benjamin, nevertheless, pressed the payment on her, and put the guineas in her lap; but Mrs. Davies persisted in her refusal, and rising up, let the gold she rejected roll to all corners of the room, leaving the comptroller to gather it up as he might. The princess Anne was astonished at generosity she had been little

accustomed to, declaring, "that although it would have been pleasure to have rewarded this loyal gentlewoman to the utmost of her power, yet they must abstain from the further tender of money, since her delicacy was hurt by it."¹

There certainly exists instinctive affection between children and aged persons who are devoted to the practice of beneficent piety. Mrs. Davies and the little duke of Gloucester soon became confidential friends. Many younger and fairer faces were around him, all full of flattery and indulgence: yet, peradventure, the princely infant saw expression beaming from her wrinkled brow that was more attractive to his childish instinct. From the lips of this old recluse he learned the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and several prayers which were satisfactory to his intelligence. There can be no doubt but that the devout lady accompanied her tuition by explanation and instruction suitable to his infant mind, for he never omitted repeating the aspirations she had taught him, with great exactness, every night and morning,² although he still remained utterly obtuse to the prayers read by his preceptor. These facts are detailed by Lewis Jenkins, without the slightest perception of the touching providence which led the young child to imbibe the knowledge of prayer from the lips of this benevolent recluse of the church of England. Her religious influence over the neglected mind of the wayward little prince, who had manifested active hatred to every semblance of the worship of God, must have been affected by conversations of vital interest to Christian civilization.

The princess was, one Sunday, preparing to go to Twickenham church, when her little son came to her, and preferred a request to go to church with her for the first time. When he received her permission, he ran to "my lady governess, Fitzharding, who was," observes Lewis, "as witty and pleasant a lady as any in England." The duke of Gloucester told her that he was going to Twickenham church with his mamma. My lady Fitzharding asked him, "If, when there, he would say the Psalms?" for he

¹ Lewis Jenkins.

² Ibid.

had made great resistance to this part of his religious exercises. "I will sing them," replied the little prince. He became, henceforth, somewhat observant and critical regarding the ecclesiastical establishment of the palace, and the tendency of his thoughts soon was apparent at his usual visits to his mother's toilet. "Mamma," said he, "why have you two chaplains, and I but one?"—"Pray," asked the princess Anne, by way of an answer, "what do you give your one chaplain?" Now, it is well known that this office in the royal household is merely titular and honorary. The little duke must have heard the fact by his reply, though he was unconscious that it was a repartee. "Mamma," said he, "I give him—his liberty." At which answer the princess laughed heartily, and often repeated it as a good instance of royal patronage and benevolence to the church of England.¹

When the household of the princess Anne left Twickenham, the duke of Gloucester was brought back to Campden house, and here he found all his small soldiers posted as sentinels on guard; they received him, to his great pleasure, with presented arms and the honors of war. Their exercises were now occasionally transferred to "Wormwood Common;" perhaps Lewis means the place called Wormwood Scrubs, or Shrubs. Here the young prince was walking one morning for the air with "a pistol in his hand:" he fell down, and hurt his forehead against it. When he returned to Campden house, the ladies were very full of pity regarding his hurt; he told them "that a bullet had grazed his forehead, but that, as a soldier, he could not cry when wounded." Again he was very earnest in his desire to be prince of Wales, but he was, as usual, "checked by his mother."

The princess, finding that her child about this time suffered with inflammation in the eyes, became alarmed lest he should be as much subject to this distressing complaint as she was, and her sister queen Mary. The idea grieved her so much that she went in person to Bloomsbury, where lived old Dr. Richley, who was, in the language of our nar-

¹ Lewis Jenkins.

Eton College

From the Thames

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rator, "famous for bad eyes." It is to be feared that he was a quack doctor. He gave the princess a little bottle, and directed the liquid therein to be applied to the eyelids with a camel's hair brush. At that time the duke of Gloucester's eyes were almost closed, so that he could not bear the light. He had been prescribed diet-drink, which he refused to take until his father, prince George of Denmark, had enforced obedience by another castigation ; but when swallowed, "the diet-drink" did no good. The princess Anne, who had been harassed and vexed by these contentions, applied the nostrum of the oculist she had sought, which effected an immediate cure ; upon which her royal highness sent the Bloomsbury doctor a purse with fifty guineas, in token of gratitude.

The faithful Welsh usher of the young duke was anxious to acquire the elements of many sciences, for the purpose of imparting them to his young master. According to his own account, he gave him his first ideas of fencing, fortification, geometry, and mathematics. The child ran to his mother every day, to display his new acquisitions in her dressing-room ; yet they brought neither thanks nor reward to the unfortunate Welshman, but reproofs for presumption from enemies on all sides, and advice from the princess "to mind his own business." Mr. Pratt, the tutor, considered his office was invaded, and "my lady governess" Fitzharding, was particularly enraged at the very idea of "the mathematics," which she evidently took for some species of conjuration. The following scene and dialogue, ruefully related by the poor Welshman, is simple matter of fact, and took place before Swift or Goldsmith had dashed at the same incident in their fictitious characters. "One day, the young duke of Gloucester pulled a paper out of my pocket," says Lewis, "on which were some problems in geometry. He looked it over, and found some triangles. 'Lewis,' says he, 'I can make these.'—'No question of that,' I replied, not much attending to what he said." It must have been this unlucky paper, carried off by the little prince to the toilet of the princess Anne, that excited the wrath of the fair Fitzharding, who possibly mistook the geomet-

rical figures for magic characters. The same day, the lady Fitzharding having superintended the dinner of the young prince her charge, sailed out of the room, with Lewis Jenkins carrying her train: while they were proceeding thus down-stairs to the apartment of the princess, the courtly dame, turning her head over her shoulder, said disdainfully to the obsequious squire performing the office of her train-bearer, "Lewis, I find you pretend to give the duke notions of mathematics and *stuff*."¹ Poor Lewis Jenkins answered widely enough from this accusation, by saying, meekly, "I only repeated stories from history, to divert and assist the young duke in his plays." Another angry askance over her shoulder was darted by the lady governess on the hapless bearer of her train. "Pray," asked she, "where did you get your learning?" Such a question, it appears, was unanswerable; but the fair one's wrath was somewhat appeased by her lord, who told her "that Lewis Jenkins was a good youth, had read much, and did not mean any harm." Lord Fitzharding, however, was commissioned by the princess Anne to hinder Lewis from teaching her son anything, "because it would injure him when he was learning fortification, geometry, and other sciences according to the regular methods." The princess had no sooner given this prohibition, than she saw her young son putting himself into fencing attitudes. "I thought I had forbidden your people to fence with you," observed her royal highness. "Oh, yes, mamma," replied the child; "but I hope you will give them leave to defend themselves when I attack them."

The poor little prince, although delicate, was, when relieved from the pressure of actual pain, high-spirited and lively. Unlike his parents, he showed marked indifference to food. His nurse, Mrs. Wanley, was forced to sit by him at his meals, to remind him that it was needful to eat, and even

¹ All the comic literature of that era was taken from life, and the above seems to be the original of Swift's satirical lines,—

"With their Ovids and Plutarchs, and Homers and *stuff*:
Now, madame, you'll think it a strange thing to say,
But the sight of a book makes me sick to this day."

Goldsmith has re-echoed it in his poem of "Retaliation."

to feed him occasionally; he would turn from the food she presented, and pick up crumbs, eating them in preference to solid nourishment. His tutor, Pratt, passed through the room, and said, reprovingly, "You pick crumbs as if you were a chicken."—"Yes, yes," replied the child; "but I'm a chick o' the game, though!" The tutor seems to have been an object of aversion to the princely boy, whose dislike to hear him read prayers amounted to antipathy. He used to beg Mrs. Wanley to have the prayers shortened, yet he was quite willing to repeat those his old friend at Twickenham had taught him. The prohibitions which the princess Anne gave repeatedly to the historical narratives told by Lewis to her son, are attributed to the jealousy that Mr. Pratt manifested, because more than once in conversation, the young prince his pupil discussed with him incidents from ancient history, which the tutor was fully aware had not been acquired from himself. Mr. Pratt complained to lady Fitzharding, his patroness, who represented the circumstance to the princess, so as to excite her displeasure.

The princess Anne enjoyed during the summer, at least in the regard of the people, the dignity of first lady of England; but the return of the king, her brother-in-law, in October, 1695, did not increase her tranquillity or happiness. His majesty's arms were more successful than usual, but many symptoms betokened that the royal temper was in a painful state of exasperation. Namur, it is true, had fallen into his possession, gained at an awful cost of blood and treasure; but no warrior was ever more ashamed of defeat than king William was at the flood of congratulatory addresses on this victory, which were poured on him from every town in England. His gracious majesty distributed sarcasms on all sides by way of answers.

The princess Anne, considering herself eminently successful in her letter of condolence on the death of the queen, now penned her royal brother-in-law an adulatory epistle on his conquest of Namur,¹ to which his majesty had not the civility to return any answer. The mayor of Nor-

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. She gives the letter, which is mere verbiage, not worth quoting.

wich, or of some other distant city, brought him up condolences for the death of queen Mary, and congratulations for the taking of Namur, and presented them with a speech, which was rather smart and pithy for a civic address, saying, "I bring your majesty my hands full of joy and sorrow."—"Put both in one hand, master mayor,"¹ interrupted the king, in a hoarse voice. The by-standers stood aghast, unable to tell whether his majesty meant to sneer or joke at the condolence for his queen; but William was tired at the expression of public sorrow so many months after date, and disgusted with being reminded of the tardy capture of Namur, which had cost him the lives of 12,000 men, and was, indeed, but a piece taken on the Flemish chess-board of war, where he and Louis XIV. had for many years amused themselves by playing away the blood, treasure, and commerce of their subjects. Among other victims of this dear-bought capture, was the deputy-governor of the Bank of England, Mr. Godfrey, who had visited the seat of war regarding money transactions from the bank; "being permitted by the king himself to go into the trenches, to witness the glory of the confederate armies, a cannon-ball killed him by his majesty's side,—an odd chance of war, which, taking the man of money, and leaving the man of battles, is said to have strengthened more than ever William III.'s belief in fatalism. However, on the death of the poor banker, he rather ungraciously asked, 'What business had he there?' . . . But after this accident, if any one of his own household servants came out of curiosity to see the progress of the siege, he gave him a caning."²

The king paid a state-visit to the princess Anne, or rather to her son, at Campden house; the young duke received his majesty under arms, and saluted him with the pike, according to the mode then in vogue of paying military

¹ Sir John Dalrymple's History says it was the lord mayor of London; a mistake, for he had long before condoled on the queen's death. It was evidently some of the disaffected cities which had rejoiced at the death of the queen, and now, being alarmed at the king's success in Flanders, had remembered the omitted condolences.

² True and Secret History, etc., from the library of his royal highness the duke of Sussex, p. 250, vol. ii.

honors. King William, who was fond of children, seemed pleased, and began conversing with him by the question of, "Whether he had any horses yet?"—"Yes," replied the little duke; "I have one live horse, and two dead ones." The king laughed at him for keeping *dead horses*, in a manner which exceedingly aggravated the child; he then gave him the information, "that soldiers always buried their dead horses out of their sight." The little duke had designated his wooden horses as dead ones, in contradistinction to the Shetland pony, "no bigger than a mastiff," which occasionally carried him. He took the words of king William in their literal sense, and insisted on burying his wooden horses out of his sight, directly the royal visit was concluded. This he did with great ceremony, and even composed some lines as epitaph, which, though childish doggerel, contradict the assertion, gravely recorded in history as one of his juvenile virtues, "that he showed a marked aversion to verses and poetry;" instead of which, several other instances are preserved of his early propensity for rhyming.¹

Hostility was, soon after this visit, renewed, on the part of king William, towards the princess Anne. The reason undoubtedly was, because he guessed that it was at her instigation the house of commons entered very severely into the subject of the vested rights of the princes of Wales, which the childless Dutch sovereign had thought proper to grant to his countryman and favorite, Bentinck, earl of Portland, and his heirs forever. William had permitted the appanage belonging to the heir-apparent of England to rest in abeyance while his queen was in existence, according to the hope her party continued to express while she lived, that she might one day have a son. At her death, he recklessly made a present of it to his friend, and forever, too! The princess Anne and the country viewed the measure much as the people of the present century would have done if his late majesty George IV. had given away the principality of Wales to one of his friends after the death of his daughter. Had lord Portland been put in as a mere

¹ Lewis Jenkins : Biographical Tracts, British Museum.

locum tenens, the matter might have been endurable; but in the intense ignorance, both of master and man, on the subject of British history, they boldly seized on this inalienable property. The discussion in the house of commons would have covered them with disgrace if the speeches pronounced therein had been reported to the public as they are at present. But this was liberty which the revolutionists had not dreamed of granting; pillory, loss of ears, and the lash, were castigations distributed by them with great liberality among the *literati* who reported aught of the sayings and doings of the house of commons or the house of peers, if in either a majority considered such reports to be breach of privilege. Even so late as the days of Dr. Johnson (the head and precursor of that mighty band of literary talent, the gentlemen reporters of the press) the most absurd subterfuges were resorted to when information was given to the nation of the debates which took place in the house of commons; initials, and blanks of the members' names, with the cant name of "the parliament of Lilliput," took the places of the present regular reports.¹

The speech, however, of a learned native of the principality, Price,² the member for Denbigh, became matter of history, for he probably reported his own oration on the enormity committed by the Dutch king, in his gift to his favorite of the appanage England expected one day to see possessed by the son of her princess. When lord Portland endeavored to obtain the revenues of this absurd grant, his demand was met by a petition against his possession from the country gentlemen of Denbigh, presented by Price, whose speech on the occasion presents an abstract of the immunities of princes of Wales, as heirs to the English crown. "Give me patience and pardon," said he, "and I will lay before you the true facts upon the petition, of the manner of the grant, and what is granted. The great

¹ In copies of Magazines extant, printed about the middle of the last century (Gentleman's, Universal, and European), this subterfuge may be seen.

² In the very history from which this speech is transcribed, the name of Price is indicated thus, P - - ce.—Life of William III., printed 1705. See pp. 440, 441.

lordships of Denbigh, Bromfeld, and Yale have been for some centuries the revenues of the kings of England and princes of Wales, where upwards of fifteen hundred tenants pay rents and other royal services. These lordships are four parts in five of the whole country, and thirty miles in extent; there are great and profitable wastes of several thousand acres, rich and valuable mines, besides other advantages which a mighty favorite and great courtier might make. Nor was such grant for any short term to lord Portland, it being to him and his heirs forever, only leaving a reservation of 6s. 8d. per annum to the king and his successors. When the long parliaments in the reign of Charles II. passed the act concerning his fee-farm rents, they excepted these within the principality of Wales,—a plain intimation that parliament thought them not fitting to be aliened, but preserved for the support of the future princes of Wales. There is a great duty lies upon the freeholders of these lordships: on the creation of the prince of Wales they pay him 800*l.* for *mizes* [probably these were robes and apparel], which is a duty that cannot be severed, and it will be very difficult to find how this tenure can be reconcilable with the lord Portland's grant. If we are to pay these *mizes* to this noble lord, then he is *quasi* prince of Wales, for such duty was never paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the prince of Wales and this noble lord too, then are the Welsh doubly charged. But I suppose that the grant of the revenues of the principality is the fore-runner of the honor too! The story goes, that we were brought to entertain the nominee of Edward I. by being recommended as one who knew not a word of the English tongue: how we were deceived is known. I suppose Bentinaek, lord Portland, does not understand our language either; nor is it to be supposed he will come among us to learn it, nor shall we be fond of learning *his*."

The sturdy ancient Briton then quoted, with considerable aptness, various historical passages relative to the indignation the English people had always manifested against greedy foreign favorites of royalty, and concluded the most remarkable historical speech of his era with these remark-

able words:—"By the old law, it was part of the coronation-oath of our kings not to alienate the ancient patrimony of the crown without the consent of parliament. But now, when God shall please to send us a prince of Wales, he may have such a present of a crown made him as a pope did to king John, made by his father king of Ireland, surnamed *Sans Terre*,¹ or *Lackland*; the pope confirmed the grant, but gave him a crown of peacock's feathers, in consideration of his poverty. I would have you consider we are Englishmen, and must, like patriots, stand by our country, and not suffer it to be tributary to strangers; and rejoicing that we have beat out of this kingdom *popery* and slavery, and now with as great joy entertain *socinianism*² and poverty, yet do we see our rights given away, and our liberties will soon follow. The remedies of our forefathers are well known, yet I desire not punishment, but redress." King William used all the influence of his person and party to prevent the revocation of his Denbigh grant to Bentinck, but the house of commons inexorably resumed it. Had the intentions of the hero of Nassau been carried out, the present hope of England would have received only an income of 6s. 8d. yearly from his fair principality of Wales.

The insult offered to Anne in regard to her neglected congratulations, was not the only one she had to endure. When William found that he remained on the English throne notwithstanding the death of his partner, he repented him of the concessions he had made to his sister-in-law, and treated her with less respect than if she had been the wife of a Dutch burgomaster.³ His majesty's regal jealousy of the princess Anne particularly manifested itself in matters connected with the church of England. All the chaplains and clergy who preached before her were still interdicted from making any bows to her before they began

¹ The English pale was of very narrow limits round Dublin centuries afterwards.

² Alluding to the popular complaint that most of the archbishops and bishops appointed by William and Mary leaned to the royal creed.

³ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

their sermons. These bows the princess (who, says our authority,¹ was remarkably civil) used always to return in a very dignified manner, even if the rank of the clergyman was the lowest. But Dr. Hooper, dean of Canterbury, and Dr. Birch, rector of St. James's church, ever disregarded the prohibitions of the Dutch king, and paid her royal highness the same respect which she always received at church by the command of her father during his reign.

Since the death of queen Mary, William III. had become more gloomy and misanthropic than ever, and more addicted to drinking schnaps of Hollands gin in his solitary hours. These potations had not the effect of intoxicating his phlegmatic temperament, but made him very irritable, and in the succeeding mornings he was very apt to cane his inferior servants, if they infringed in the slightest manner on the severe order he established. A French servant, who had the care of his guns, and who attended him in his shooting excursions in Bushy park, and the 'Home park' of Hampton Court, one day forgot to provide himself with shot, although it was his duty to load his majesty's fowling-piece; he determined, if possible, to conceal his neglect, and therefore repeatedly charged the king's gun merely with powder, and kept his own counsel, exclaiming, when his royal master fired, "I did never,—no, never see his majesty miss before!"² The Banqueting-house on the strand of the Thames, a little to the left of the Trophy gate-way at Hampton Court, was the favorite scene of the evening potations of the royal widower. There, away from the irksome restraint which ever attended his life in the state-apartments of an English palace, he unbent his mind with his Dutchmen, and enjoyed, in that isolated retreat, all the freedom from courtly refinement which endeared his palace over the water at Loo. The Banqueting-house at Hampton Court is said to have been built by William,³

¹ Hooper MS.

² Pyne's Palaces; likewise the traditions of Hampton Court.

³ An engraving at the British Museum, among the King's MSS., from an ancient painting representing the former state of Hampton Court in the time of the Tudors and Stuarts, before William III.'s alterations, shows the Banqueting-house just in the square form it is (and on the same spot), with gothic win-

but in all probability he only altered it. The orgies celebrated therein, when thus converted by William III. into a royal gin-temple, produced such remarkable irritation in his majesty's temper that few or none but his lowest foreign menials chose to cross his path on the succeeding mornings;¹ for the persons on whom he was wont to inflict marks of his fractious humor were facetiously called in the royal household, "king William's knights of the cane,"²—a distinction by no means endurable to the proud Norman blood of the English aristocracy who held state-offices in his household. And here those who are interested in the historical statistics of civilization may observe that the example of this monarch's manners made prevalent in England, throughout the last century, every species of castigation with scourges and sticks, not only by parliamentary license in the English armies professionally, but by all sorts of amateur performances from the strong to the weak. The national usages of northern Europe, when emerging from barbarism, seem to have been imported by him into these islands. Moreover, his contemporary sovereigns of Germany and the far North, it is notorious, wielded their canes with remarkable vigor for the maintenance of the palace discipline they chose to be observed. The cudgellings bestowed by czar Peter on all ranks and conditions of his loving Russians, without partiality or regard to age or sex, are matters of history. The canings of Frederick I. of Prussia (who was cousin-german of William III., and to whom he wished to leave his empire), it is well known, refreshed not only his army and household, but his sons, daughters, and friends. Frederic the Great, whose kindred to the hero of Nassau was manifested by many points of resemblance in mind and person, did not forget, being brought up under his father's baton, to wield "the cane-sceptre of Prussia," as a French wit has aptly

dows and a flat roof, but with a turret at the western corner, and the royal standard flying.

¹ Observations upon the late Revolution in England, in the Somers's Tracts, vol. iv. p. 45.

² Life of his late majesty King William III.

called it, at certain times and seasons, when he considered it peculiarly efficacious.

The studied marks of disrespect which the princess Anne received from her brother-in-law on the throne, in the autumn of 1695, began to excite the murmurs of the people; the king's conduct to her on his birthday completed the public discontent. It seems that all the English and Scotch nobility who were particularly interested in the revolutionary government hastened to London at the end of October, or in the beginning of November, 1695, that they might pay their respects to king William, when he was to hold his lonely drawing-room to receive congratulations on the anniversary at once of his birthday and of the English revolution of 1688. A letter of lady Drumlanrig¹ (whose husband, as duke of Queensberry, afterwards played such a remarkable part in the Scottish union) mentions the expectation of this drawing-room to her correspondent, lady Hartington, the daughter of the celebrated lady Russell, in a letter dated October 27th, in which several curious traits of the costume of the times are comprised. As the father-in-law of the writer died the same year, the mourning reception she describes as customary then in noble families on occasions of death must have been on that account.² "I am every day set out in form [to receive company] on a dismal black bed,³ from which I intend to make my escape next week, and be of this world again. My lady Hyde [the first-cousin of the princess Anne] came up to town with very grave resolutions of not seeing a play, but by the instigations of the Evil one, and the persuasions of some friends, she has *bin* at three within the week; and I hope to follow her example the next, for

¹ Lady Mary Boyle, grand-daughter of the earl of Burlington, was wife to James, second duke of Queensberry, who succeeded to the title before the year of 1695 had expired.

² Although the lady had just become a duchess, she signs herself by her old familiar name of *M. Drumlanrig*. The letter is edited from the MS. in possession of his grace the duke of Devonshire, by permission.

³ This ceremony is mentioned in the Life of Catharine of Braganza. In all visits of condolence, even for the loss of places under government, it was etiquette, in this era, for the recipient party to be reclining on a couch or bed.

they act now in Covent garden, and they say they are there very full. I hear nothing yet of Cockatoo and lady Betty, by which I suppose they are not come to town yet; but all our Bath acquaintance are, almost as soon as myself. I was in hopes the birthday would have brought your ladyship to town; if you are still at Woburn, I must beg leave to present my service to my lady Russell." The birthday reception, for which the beaux and belles of the English nobility were thus flocking to town, was no pleasant ceremonial for the bereaved king, who probably had forgotten it, and, withal, did not know how to conduct himself, having always escaped, as much as possible, from the etiquette of such affairs, and left them to the able guidance of his regal partner and consort, queen Mary.

Princesses of the royal family who were nearest to the throne, when there happened to be no queen-consort, had taken distinguished parts in such receptions in preceding reigns; the sisters of Edward VI., and the mother of Charles II., had received the female nobility in the royal withdrawing-room. The princess Anne, in addition to her birth-rank (far higher than that of the king), was, withal, the apparent successor to the British crown, and therefore she ought, according to all precedents, to have had a distinguished place near the throne of her brother-in-law, even if she had not been deputed by him to have received the female nobility as his nearest relative. But so far was the Dutch sovereign from according the usual marks of respect due to her as the heiress of the Britannic empire, and as the sister of his late consort, that he outraged not only royal etiquette, but common courtesy, by causing her to wait nearly two hours in his antechamber without the slightest distinction between her and the wives of the aldermen and deputies of the common-councilmen who attended his court receptions at Kensington palace.¹ The princess was subject to similar insult every reception-day, during the winter at least, until the murmurs of the people, reminding the king that her royal highness was the object of their warmest affections, were re-echoed by those of his

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 110.

own English officials who had access to his person. Indeed, they were forced to convince him that he was showing more contempt to their princess than the nation at large would bear, and then his majesty found it necessary to alter his system. When the princess came for the future, lord Jersey, the lord chamberlain, was despatched to usher her in due form into the presence. Yet cause of complaint still existed, that no one was sent to receive her, when alighting, of higher rank than a court page,—a grievance which is peculiarly noticed by lady Marlborough, who affirms that such neglect constituted the discourse of the town whenever it happened. It is very evident that trial was made by his majesty, on his return from his successful campaign, of how far the English people would permit their princess to be treated with the species of contumely she formerly suffered during the life of the queen; but he found that such proceedings were not advisable, especially as he received some indications that conspiracies were organized against his person by Jacobites among his own guards,—intelligence which quickly produced amelioration of the royal manners towards the princess; likewise a very general pacification and reconciliation was extended to her party as well as to herself, of which the chief was considered to be the young duke of Ormonde. The particulars are preserved in a letter of the daughter of the illustrious Rachel lady Russell, then lady Hartington, addressed to her husband,¹ with other amusing gossip of the close of the year 1695:—

“The Duke of Ormonde is once more reconciled to the court, and all matters happily composed, and the king, being willing to make peace on all sides, is going to Windsor, as some persons say, on purpose to visit Lord Portland, seeing he would not be so gracious as to come to him. My lord Exeter² is gone

¹ Signed R. H. (Rachel Hartington.) Family correspondence of his grace the Duke of Devonshire, transcribed by permission from the original MS.

² The kindred peers of the house of Cecil had, strange to say, both turned Roman Catholics, out of affection to James II. From some passages in the despatches of Christian Cole, it appears that lords Exeter and Salisbury were among the portion of the English nobility who held themselves haughtily aloof from the courts, not only of William III., but of the princess Anne. Nevertheless, few years had elapsed since James II., his queen, and his daughter Anne,

out of town, though the match, I think, goes on; still most terrible disorders happen upon the account of Miss Al——,¹ for my lord Burleigh was so highly displeased at the character they had given him and his lady, that he was even provoked to speech, and that very harsh and rude. I suppose you have heard of the disorders that have lately happened between my lord Inchiquin and his lady.

The singular influence which the family of Villiers had on the destiny of the royal sisters, Mary II. and Anne, makes any mention of them matter of curiosity. In the same series of letters is noted the astonishment of Elizabeth Villiers that she never saw the king after the death of queen Mary. But there exists documentary evidence that, although apparently estranged from him in England, yet after the year 1696, she always spent the time in his majesty's company which he passed at Loo.

The new year, 1696, was marked by a thorough change in the conduct of king William towards the princess Anne, in which change might be plainly seen that his worldly wisdom as diplomatist had successfully overcome the venom of his temper.

had been refused hospitality at Hatfield, although it was originally a demesne of the crown, and in such cases hospitality was always considered a condition of the tenure.

¹ This is, perhaps, Jane Allington, the Dorinda to whom this lady, under the name of Sylvia, addressed historical letters, descriptive of the accession of William and Mary. She was second daughter to Lord Allington; her mother was daughter to the first duke of Bedford.—Faulkner's Hammersmith.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER II.

Princess Anne receives the conciliatory visit of William III.—She is invited by him to take possession of St. James's palace—Her son invested with the Garter—The princess given account of his behavior—Her prospects for the future—Princess permitted to reside at Windsor castle—Her domestic life in the summer of 1696—Princess presides over her son's high festivals at Windsor—Her wedding-day—Congratulated by her son—Grand court-day held by the princess—Introduces her son to the English nobility—Dialogue between William III. and the princess—She is spitefully reviled by him in private—Princess receives marks of homage from foreign states—She visits Tunbridge Wells, accompanied by her son—Fears lest he should be taken from her for tuition—Her aversion to Dr. Burnet being appointed his preceptor—Princess wronged by the king of three parts of the grant for her son's education—Submits to all, rather than lose his company—The princess conciliated by the appointment of lord Marlborough as his governor—First introduction of Abigail Hill (lady Masham) in the princess's service—The princess's accouchement—Her infant dead—Burial—Anecdotes of the princess's life at St. James's—Leaves London for Windsor castle—Illness and death of her only child, the duke of Gloucester—Conduct of the princess—She rises from his death-bed to write to her father (James II.)

THE princess Anne was passing the Christmas recess with her husband and little son at Campden house, Kensington, when they were surprised by a visit from king William, who was then residing at the adjacent palace. His majesty chose to make in person the gracious announcement that the princess and her household could take possession of the palace of St. James's whensoever it pleased her; and that, by the death of lord Strafford, a Garter being at his disposal, he intended to bestow it on his nephew, the duke of Gloucester.¹ This was probably a New-year's visit, for, on the 4th of January, Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, who was the prelate connected with

¹ Lewis Jenkins: Tracts, Brit. Museum.

the order of the Garter, came to announce to the princess that a chapter would be held on the 6th of January for the admission of the young prince. The bishop asked the child if the thoughts of it did not make him glad? "I am gladder of the king's favor," was the discreet answer of the little prince.

One of the grand objects of the princess's ambition in her son's behalf was duly accomplished by this investment, for which the prince of Denmark took the child in state to Kensington palace on the appointed day. The proceedings were chronicled in the Gazette of that week. William III. buckled on the Garter with his own hands, an office which is commonly performed by one of the knights-companions, at the mandate of the sovereign.¹ "When the little duke came home to Campden house, he was not," says his faithful Welsh chronicler, "in the least puffed up with pride; neither did he give himself any consequential airs on account of his star and garter, which were from henceforward to be worn daily by him. When he had rested himself a short time in his mother's withdrawing-room, he went to his usual playing-place, the presence-chamber in Campden house, where he found Harry Scull, one of his favorite boys, whose merit consisted in beating the drum with unusual noise and vigor. 'Now, Harry,' said the duke, 'your dream is out;' for Harry Scull had very recently thought proper to dream that he saw his young master adorned with a star and garter."

The marquess of Normanby (who was the same person as Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, the first lover of Anne) paid her royal highness a visit of congratulation the next day on the installation of her son. His ostensible object seems to have been to give an account of the young child's behavior at the ceremony to the anxious mother, since he was himself one of the knights present. He told her "that the duke could not have conducted himself better if he had been thirty-six instead of six years old." The princess must have recommended her son to the friendly attention of her former lover, since this is not the only instance re-

¹ Lewis Jenkins: Tracts, Brit. Museum.

corded of the warm interest taken by lord Normanby in the well-doing of this little prince, over whose education he watched with a solicitude that was not prompted by any regard to king William or the revolutionary government. At this period the princess had great hopes of seeing her child attain health and vigor. He was then six years of age and six months, he measured three feet eight inches and a half, he was fresh-colored and lively, and as well-shaped as was consistent with the unusual size of his head and brain. Like many other children remarkable for precocious abilities as infant prodigies, the brain seems to have been stimulated by the hydrocephalous affliction.

The frequent interruptions of the education of the duke of Gloucester made it proceed in a somewhat desultory manner, but he could read well and write respectably for his age, and even read writing. These seem the principal attainments he derived from his tutor, but his stores of information were chiefly obtained from his Welsh attendant; nevertheless, the wrath of the prince's governess, lady Fitzharding, on the memorable day of the train-bearing dialogue, had considerably abated the zeal of Lewis. Subsequently, the jealousy of the lady, and of Mr. Pratt, the tutor, extorted a positive prohibition from the princess against any knowledge being imparted by the Welsh usher, as contraband and irregular; but, as the princess had expressed formerly the utmost satisfaction that her son, when he was much younger, should be told by Lewis incidents from Plutarch and other historians, he was not a little astonished when her royal highness in person forbade him to relate to her son any historical narratives whatsoever. Perhaps the princess was alarmed lest her son should hear the names of her unfortunate father and brother; she might suppose that Lewis would overpass the prescribed bounds in the warmth of narration, when English history was discussed.

Notwithstanding the intimidation under which Lewis Jenkins labored, the young duke of Gloucester was eager to extract from him all sorts of information, for the child possessed the early love of science for which the line of

Stuart was remarkable, and he languished even at his tender years for intellectual communication. When he found that dread of his mother's anger restrained Lewis from giving him instruction, he craved for it under promise of secrecy. The child was puzzled to know why there are two round figures of the earth placed side by side on the map of the world. He showed Lewis Jenkins a map, and requested to know "if the earth consisted of two globes placed in that position?" He applied to his friend for explanation, adding, "that if he would, nobody should know that he had done so." It is a geographical enigma which has puzzled many an infant mind, nor did Lewis's definition make the matter much plainer. "I could not refrain," says the faithful Welshman, "from telling him, that if he looked on one of these globes delineated on paper, he could see that only, and not the other at the same time; therefore geographers had divided the representation of the world into two equal parts, and he saw in those parts the two hemispheres, which really formed one globe."¹ The young duke expressed himself well pleased with this information.

There can be no doubt but that the princess Anne, according to the gracious invitation of the king, took possession of St. James's palace early in the spring of 1696; although no date of the actual circumstance occurs in the Gazette or other newspapers of the period, yet that she was actually living there is noticed by 'the Postman,' a newspaper of the era.² The spring and summer of that year proved to be the most hopeful and prosperous period of the existence of the princess Anne, if not the happiest. For the first time she appeared to enjoy, with prospect of permanence, the fruits of her struggles against her father at the epoch of the Revolution. The palace of her ancestors was now her residence; her rank was recognized by the king and his government, who dared no longer deprive her of her subsistence, as they did during the two years after her father's deposition; but, on the contrary, she was the mistress of an ample and regular income. Above all,

¹ Lewis Jenkins's Life of the Duke of Gloucester.

² British Museum.

the princess had reason to hope that her only surviving child would grow up, and add security to her final succession to the crowns of his ancestors, which would, in due time, be transmitted to him. Over this bright aspect of her fortunes a few specks appeared, arising from reports raised by the disappointed Jacobites, which were, that the king meant to bring home a high-Dutch bride when he returned from his summer campaign, and that he intended, in consequence, to contest the clause in the settlement of the succession, by bringing a bill into parliament for making Anne's children give place to his possible issue by a second marriage.

While the princess Anne and her husband were enjoying all the homage and pleasures of their fully-attended courts at St. James's palace, their son remained at Campden house, where some attention was now thought fit to be paid to his religious education. On Sunday evenings the princess ordered that her son and the boys of his small regiment were to attend Mr. Pratt, the tutor, for the purpose of being catechised and examined respecting their knowledge of Scripture. The young duke of Gloucester was, on these occasions, exalted on a chair above the rest of the catechumens, with a desk before him; his boys were ranged on benches below: those of them who answered to the satisfaction of the tutor were rewarded with a new shilling, by way of medal. "At one of these lectures in my hearing," says Lewis Jenkins, who was then in waiting, "Mr. Pratt put the following question to the young duke:— 'How can you, being born a prince, keep yourself from the pomps and vanities of this world?' The princely catechumen answered, 'I will keep God's commandments, and do all I can to walk in his ways.'"¹

The possession of St. James's palace did not constitute the only reward that the princess Anne received for her pacification with William III. The regal fortress of Windsor was appointed for her summer abode. One of the newspapers²

¹ Lewis Jenkins's *Memoirs of the Duke of Gloucester*: Biographical Tracts, British Museum.

² British Museum.

announced her departure from town, for Windsor castle, soon after the king's arrival in Holland. The royal residences were thus shared between the princess and her brother-in-law. The king retained exclusive possession of Kensington palace and Hampton court: he had no palace in the metropolis, although his despatches retained the official date of Whitehall, some portion of which still remained on the site of Downing street, and about the Cockpit. St. James's palace and Windsor castle were allotted to the princess Anne and her son, and were certainly the best portion among the royal dwellings. Canonbury palace, at Islington,¹ and Hammersmith, with Somerset house, were the appanages of the absent queen-dowager, Catharine of Braganza. They all fell to decay while in her occupation, or rather in that of her officials, and were disused as palatial residences ever after. Marylebone palace was still in existence, and its demesnes, park, and gardens (now Regent's park) were public promenades and places of amusement.

The young duke of Gloucester had never beheld Windsor before; on his arrival, his mother ordered him to be led to his own suite of apartments, where he looked about him, but complained that *his* presence-chamber was not large enough to exercise his soldiers in. It seems that the presence-chamber at Campden house, which was entire in 1860, with its carved oak panelling, was larger than the third- or fourth-rate suites of the regal fortress. The housekeeper of the castle, Mrs. Randee, attended the young duke, to show him the royal apartments in the castle, and give him the description of the pictures. He was pleased with the "historical picture of the Triumph in St. George's hall," and affirmed that this noble apartment was fit to fight his battles in. The next day the princess sent to Eton school for four boys, to be her son's companions: young lord Churchill, the only son of her favorites, lord and lady Marlborough, was one; he was a few years older than the young prince, and was mild and good-natured, with very

¹ See letters of queen Mary II., vol. xiv., in which the queen discusses the probability of the queen-dowager going for the summer either to Islington or Hammersmith.

pleasing manners. The other Eton scholars were two Bathursts and Peter Boscawen. The young duke, when these playfellows arrived, eagerly proposed that a battle should forthwith be fought in St. George's hall, and sent for his collection of small pikes, muskets, and swords. The music-gallery and its stairs were to represent a castle, which he meant to besiege and take. Mrs. Atkinson and Lewis Jenkins were in waiting, and both were expected to take part in the fray. They begged young Boscawen to be the enemy, as he was a very discreet youth, and would take care not to hurt the duke with the pikes and other warlike implements. Peter Bathurst was not quite so considerate, for the sheath having slipped off his sword, he gave the duke of Gloucester a wound in the neck with it that bled. The child said nothing of the accident in the heat of the onslaught, and when Lewis stopped the battle to inquire whether the duke was hurt, he replied, "No," and continued to pursue the enemy up the stairs into their garrison, leaving the floor of St. George's hall strewed with make-believe dying and dead. When all was over, he asked "ma'm Atkinson" if she had a surgeon at hand. "Oh, yes, sir," said she, as usual, for the dead were revived in the young prince's sham fights by blowing wind into them with a pair of bellows. "Pray make no jest of it," said the young duke, "for Peter Bathurst has really wounded me in the battle." There was no serious hurt inflicted by young Bathurst, but sufficient to have made a less high-spirited child of seven years old stop the whole sport. The young duke was taken in the afternoon to see the Round tower; but he was not satisfied with it, because it had neither parapet nor bastion.

The young prince had the first sight of practical slaughter given him at Windsor castle, in the usual mode of the hunter's mimic war, by the death of the deer. Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, the ranger of Windsor park, gave his little highness a buck, to kill as he pleased; he would have had the animal hunted, but those about him did not consider that regular hunting was sufficiently convenient for his recreation. According to their management the deer-

slaughter became like murder, and a very disgusting scene it was for a tender boy to witness. The poor deer had no "fair play," which, we surmise, means chance of escape, for he was disabled and wounded before being turned out by the keeper; the duke followed the chase in his coach, and young Boscawen, mounted on horseback, managed to direct the bleeding deer and the hunt to the coach. Boscawen and the keeper then cut the poor animal's throat in the young duke's presence, that he might have "say" on the first sight of the death of a buck. Mr. Massam [Masham],¹ his page, dipped his hand in the blood, and coming sideways, besmeared the duke of Gloucester's face all over. At first he was startled, but on the explanation that such was the usual custom at first seeing a deer slain, "he besmeared me," says his usher, Lewis Jenkins, "and afterwards all his boys." Then, in high triumph, he desired the whole hunting-party to take the way home under the windows of his mother's apartments, and greeted her with the halloo of the chase; he was very anxious to give the "say" to those of her ladies who had not seen deer slaughter. They did not approve of such painting of their faces. The princess advised him to send presents of his venison, which he did, but unfortunately forgot his governess, lady Fitzharding, who did not bear the slight without lively remonstrance.

The princess Anne usually walked in Windsor park with her husband, and the little prince her son, before the child went to his tutor for his reading and other lessons. On one of these occasions, the boy alarmed her by insisting on rolling down the slope of the dry ditch of one of the castle fortifications, declaring that when he was engaged in battles and sieges, he must use himself to descend such places. His father, prince George, prevented the exploit in consideration of the alarm of the princess, but permitted the child to divert himself by the performance of this gymnastic next day.² It was always the idea of the prince

¹ The name of this person, after his marriage with Abigail Hill, the cousin-german of the Duchess of Marlborough, took its place in history.

² Lewis Jenkins: Tracts, Brit. Museum.

of Denmark, that by violent and hardening exercises his child's tendency to invalidism (which he considered was nurtured by the over-fondness of the princess, and the petting and spoiling of her ladies) might be overcome.

Two anniversary festivals awaited the princess, her husband and child, which were to be celebrated at Windsor castle that year, with splendor that had never attended them on any previous occasion. The first was on the 24th of July, the duke of Gloucester's birthday, when a chapter of the knights of the Garter was to be held in St. George's hall for the admission of the young duke at their feast and procession. Four days afterwards occurred the thirteenth anniversary of the wedding-day of "Anne of York," and "George of Denmark," which was likewise the name-day of the princess, the day of St. Anne; it was to be kept as high holiday at royal Windsor, from which the princess had been banished for years. She was present at the feast in St. George's hall on her son's birthday, and saw him walk in procession with the other knights, in his plumes and robes, from St. George's chapel to the hall, where the tables were spread for a grand banquet, which the king had ordered to be provided at his expense for the princess and her company; the dinner for the knights-companions was laid out in the king's guard-chamber.¹ The juvenile knight of the Garter comported himself during the whole ceremonial of being installed in his proper place in the chapel, at the service, and the procession, with exemplary gravity and dignity. His noble knights companions were, his own father, with the dukes of Norfolk, Northumberland, Southampton, Shrewsbury, and Devonshire, and the earls of Dorset and Rochester. All the knights of the Garter dined in their robes and full costume, and the little duke of Gloucester sat down among them; but after the child had been at table a little while, and slightly partaken of the feast, he begged leave to be excused for retiring. His anxious mother then ordered him to be laid to repose, and when he had rested from his fatigues for two or three hours, she took him out for the air in her carriage. In the

¹ Lewis Jenkins : Tracts, Brit. Museum.

evening the princess received and entertained the nobility, many of whom came from a great distance to the magnificent ball she gave at the castle. The town of Windsor was illuminated, bells rang from all the adjacent steeples, and the country round the keep blazed with bonfires. There were fireworks on Windsor terrace, in which the young duke of Gloucester particularly delighted; and the part of the entertainment witnessed by him concluded with a new ode written in celebration of his birthday, and set to music.

A few days afterwards the other festival occurred, of the celebration of the wedding-day of the princess. Her health had improved, or at least her powers of progression, within that year, for frequent mention is made of her walks in Windsor park, and visits paid to her son without being carried to his suite of apartments in her sedan. It was her custom to come to see him every morning, when at Windsor, with his father. On the anniversary of their wedding-day her royal highness came with her consort prince George earlier than usual, and found her son very lively and full of spirits, superintending the firing of his little cannon in honor of the day. He had four pieces, which had been made for him in the lifetime of his aunt, queen Mary; one of these was defective, and had burst, the loss of which he had lamented to king William, who promised him a new one,—a promise which he never performed. Of course the king totally forgot the circumstance, but the child did not. At Windsor, however, there was found a beautiful little model cannon, which had been made by prince Rupert; of this the young duke of Gloucester took possession, with infinite satisfaction. The princess was saluted by the discharge of these toy cannons when she entered the room; but as her son indulged her with three rounds, her maternal fears were greatly awakened by seeing so much gunpowder at his command, and she privately determined that the case should be altered for the future. When the firing was over, the young duke addressed his father and mother of his own accord, saying, “Papa, I wish you and mamma unity, peace, and concord, not for a time, but forever.”

The princely pair were delighted with the vivacity of their darling, and looked forward to the future with livelier hope than ever. "You made a fine compliment to their royal highnesses to-day, sir," observed Lewis Jenkins, who was in waiting in his apartment. "Lewis," replied the child, "it was no compliment; it was sincere."—"He now," adds the usher, "though he had but completed his seventh year, began to be more wary in what he said, and would not talk and chatter just what came into his head, but now and then would utter shrewd expressions, with some archness."

The great satisfaction that the princess Anne enjoyed at this time, both as the recognized heiress-apparent of the British islands, and the mother of a child who began to be looked on with hope by all parties in the realm excepting the Roman Catholics, suffered some counterbalance by the revival of reports that William III. was actually betrothed to a German bride. The news certainly emanated from the Jacobites, who were in downright despair at the strength that the government of William III. had gained by his alliance, offensive and defensive, with Anne and her partisans. The enemy hoped to discompose the serenity of the princess by alarms, lest her settlement should be disturbed by any succeeding parliament strong in the interest of her brother-in-law. Nor were rumors to that effect wanting; they were sufficiently prevalent in London to cause the following mention of them by the duke of Shrewsbury in a letter to lord Portland, the king's chief confidential adviser, though no longer his favorite. "The town makes itself sure that the king will return, not only with peace, but a queen." To this remark Portland wrote from Flanders, "We [that was William III. and himself] returned yesterday morning from Cleves, without any appearance of bringing back a queen, if it is from thence she is to come."¹ These letters occurred September, 1696; but either the princesses who were descended from the house of Cleves looked on England as an ominous land for queens, or king William had no inclination for second nuptials. The reports of his wooing died away, yet it is certain they had

¹ Coxe's Shrewsbury Correspondence, pp. 140, 142.

been strong enough to induce queries from the prime-minister.

Peace, the peace of Ryswick, actually was ratified, but no queen arrived. This pacification has been already discussed;¹ it was little more than a breathing time, while taxable people in England and France gathered together more money, and a few hundred thousand boys in either country reached the sage age of sixteen, when their blood was destined to enrich the fertile fields of Flanders or Low Germany,—the fighting-grounds of the regimental sovereigns, William III. and Louis XIV.

The princess, with her spouse and son, left Windsor for Campden house in October. They received an early visit there from king William within a few days of his arrival from Flanders. The continuation of Jacobite machinations and intrigues in England obtained for the princess Anne a double portion of the favor of her astute brother-in-law; he even condescended to be present at balls and entertainments, became her guest at his own birthday, and paid her all due attention on the anniversary of her own. The *Gazette*² told the London world of these unusual gayeties on the part of the hero of Nassau, and his English subjects could scarcely be persuaded that the disconsolate royal widower was not practising such unwonted urbanities to render himself acceptable to some second Anne of Cleves, according to the reports prevalent during the preceding summer and autumn. His majesty's birthday, November 4, 1696, was celebrated with great demonstrations of duty and affection for his royal person and government. In the evening, the court was entertained at St. James's by the princess Anne with a concert of music, vocal and instrumental. His majesty supped with their royal highnesses, and there was afterwards a ball at Whitehall. In London and Westminster the night concluded with illuminations and bonfires, and other public rejoicings suitable to the occasion.

Simultaneously with the new year of 1697, the public

¹ Vol. xii., *Life of Mary Beatrice*.

² *Gazette*, October 22 and November 6, 1696.

attention was engaged with the attainder of sir John Fenwick, for a plot against the life of his majesty. The ramifications of this conspiracy were very wide. Sir John Fenwick found that the king was determined to take his life on account of old grudges, which first arose when that gentleman served in Holland with the English troops, furnished by Charles II. and James II. to keep William in the station of hereditary stadtholder; and above all, on account of the bitter tirade he addressed to queen Mary in the park, when she fled from the fire at Whitehall.¹ When the prisoner ascertained that he was condemned by attainder, and that, despite of the law established by the Bill of Rights at the Revolution, without regular trial, and without the requisite two witnesses for an act of overt treason, he forthwith unfolded such evidence of the correspondence of the nobility (including most of William's ministers) with James II., that, if half of them had been impeached, there would have been scarcely enough unconcerned in the treason to have "hanged or beheaded the rest." Marlborough was particularly aimed at, nor can there exist the slightest doubt that the princess Anne's former communications with her father formed prominent points of the Fenwick confessions. Of these it has already been shown that king William had had in the lifetime of his late consort as full proof as could ever be afforded him by Fenwick; yet he very coolly continued to trust to the tender regard which the princess and her favorites had for their own interests in the reversionary advancement of the duke of Gloucester, to keep them, for the time to come, patriotic supporters of the glorious Revolution, when the course of events rendered the future prospect of the succession of Anne and her son inevitable, if they survived the incumbent on the throne. Fenwick was accordingly doomed, and all his revelations treated by mutual consent as false and malicious. He was beheaded on Tower hill,² January 28, 1696-97. King Wil-

¹ Sampson's Diary, MS., British Museum; previously quoted in the *Life of Mary II.*, vol. xiv.

² Every writer has considered that some mystery, never properly developed, rests under the conduct of William III. to Fenwick. The king was heard to

liam took possession of all the personal effects of sir John Fenwick; among others, in evil hour for himself, of a remarkable sorrel shooting-pony, which creature was connected with his future history.

Twelve gentlemen were executed, at different times the same year, for having plotted to waylay William III., and kill him in the midst of his guards on his return from hunting at Hampton. Sir George Barclay, who held a command in the guards of William III., and who had been, like Ferguson, Montgomery, and Ross, eager promoters of the Revolution, was the leader of this conspiracy. He was leagued with sir John Fenwick, with colonel Oglethorpe, and many other persons of the most opposite principles, republicans as well as Jacobites; and above all, with three spies and informers, who were regular plot-makers for diplomatic purposes, paid by the government. The trials and executions of the various victims of these informers of course caused much excitement among all sorts and conditions of the people. Associations were formed for the loyal protection of the king's person; pledges were taken, and addresses of all kinds signed and sent up from corporations, etc., to Kensington palace. Among others, the young duke of Gloucester displayed his loyal breeding in

say that Fenwick had once spoken to him in a manner, when he was in Holland, that "if he had been his equal, he must have cut his throat."—Burnet, vol. iv. p. 324. Perhaps this was when Fenwick resisted the temptation to betray his own sovereign, which his fellow-soldier, captain Bernardi (see his *Memoirs*), declares the prince offered to all the officers in the English regiments lent him by his uncles: he says Fenwick saved the prince's life more than once in Holland. Among other passages of false history, it has been asserted that William III., when prince of Orange, threw imputations on the courage of Fenwick while that officer was fighting for him. The utter falsehood of this assertion is proved by a very partial history of William III., printed by Tooke, Fleet street, 1705. The behavior of the three colonels fighting for William so late in the war as 1676 is thus mentioned in that part of the history which enters into facts,—viz., before the prince came to the throne of Great Britain:—"In the desperate storming of Maestricht, the English, under three colonels, Fenwick, Widdrington, and Ashby, desired their countrymen might be commanded apart, that if they behaved like valiant men they might have the glory; if not, the shame. To this the prince agreed; colonel Fenwick, as the eldest colonel, took the command, and his brave and desperate attacks were remarkable while the siege lasted."

the principles of the Revolution by causing one of his young soldiers to write out the following address to his majesty, to which he fixed his boyish signature :—

“ I, your majesty’s most dutiful subject, had rather lose my life in your majesty’s cause than in any man’s else ; and I hope it will not be long ere you conquer France.

“ GLOUCESTER.”

Another address was likewise dictated by him, which he caused his boy-soldiers and all his household to sign :—

“ We, your majesty’s subjects, will stand by you while we have a drop of blood.”

However puerile these proceedings might seem in the eyes of William III., they at least brought to him the conviction that the princess was bringing up her son as his partisan, and without any romantic predilections or ideas of duty towards the former possessor of the throne.

The public attention was diverted from the illegal execution of sir John Fenwick and all his *mal-à-propos* revelations, by the great splendor and unwonted festivity which marked the preparations for celebrating the birthday of the princess Anne, when her son, the parliamentary heir, was to be introduced to the court with the utmost magnificence.¹ It may be remembered, that king William had presented the princess with the jewels of the late queen, her sister. Anne, who was always remarkable for her moderation regarding these sparkling baubles, did not choose to adorn her own person with them, but lavished the whole on that of her boy. The wisdom might be questioned of exciting in the young prince “ tastes for finery, which are still less becoming to men and boys than to women and girls.” Howsoever, her royal highness amused herself by ordering and devising for her young son a most marvellous suit of clothes to appear in at court on her birthday. The coat was azure-blue velvet, then the color of the mantle of the Garter.² All the button-holes of this

¹ Gazette, February, 1696–97.

² George I. changed it to a darker shade, that his knights of the Garter might not be confounded with those nominated by the titular king at St. Germain.

garment were incrustated with diamonds, and the buttons were composed of great brilliants. The king himself had given his aid towards the magnificence of this grand costume. His majesty had, in honor of the princely boy's installation as knight of the Garter, presented him with a jewel of St. George on horseback, the order for which, to the royal jeweller, amounted to 800*l*. Thus ornamented and equipped withal in a flowing white periwig, the prince of seven summers made his bow in his mother's circle at St. James's, to congratulate her on her birthday, and receive himself the adorations of the sparkling crowd of peers and beauties who flocked to her royal highness's drawing-room.¹ In such costume the young duke is depicted by Kneller, at Hampton Court. Notwithstanding the owlsh periwig with which his little highness is oppressed, he is really pretty: his complexion is of pearly fairness, his eyes very blue, with that touching expression of reflectiveness which often pertains to those destined to an early grave. The features of the heir of the princess Anne were like those of her Stuart ancestors; he as nearly resembled his unfortunate uncle and rival, the exiled prince of Wales, as if he had been his brother, excepting that he had the blonde Danish complexion.

The ladies and courtiers of the princess Anne had scarcely finished admiring the splendid dress of her idolized boy when king William himself arrived to offer his congratulations on her birth-night. When the ceremonial was concluded, the young duke of Gloucester was led by his proud mother to claim the attention of majesty. It does not seem that the king exactly approved of the display of jewels on the person of the child, for he said to him, with his usual sarcastic abruptness, "You are very fine."—"All the finer for you, sir," was the undignified reply of the princess, alluding to the present of the George that her son had received from the king, and the donation of queen Mary's jewels to herself, of the value of 40,000*l*., with which the child stood loaded before them. The princess then urged the duke of Gloucester to return thanks to his

¹ Lewis Jenkins: Biographical Tracts, Brit. Museum.

majesty ; but the boy, albeit so fluent on all other occasions, contented himself by making a low bow to the king, nor could his mother prevail on him to speak ; “ which,” adds Lewis Jenkins,¹ “ he probably would have done if left to himself, without being prompted to it.” It is more probable that the young prince had been disconcerted by the tone and expression of the king’s above-quoted remark, and instinctively felt that the least said on the subject was the best way of proceeding.

The unusual attentions of the crowned diplomatist, by making visits to his “ sister Anne” when the etiquette of birthdays and wedding-days demanded them, were, after all, but the fair seeming of the politician ; just at this time the royal spleen and gall rose so irrepressibly against her, that he could not help expressing to his confidant and chamberlain (the brother of his mistress, Elizabeth Villiers) how much he detested his sister-in-law, adding, “ that if he had married the princess Anne, he should have been the most miserable man on earth.”² Lord Villiers himself reported this agreeable remark to lord Dartmouth, nor could it be doubted that the king meant that it should meet the ear of Anne through his chamberlain’s other sister, lady Fitzharding, in order that mortification felt by the princess in private might counterbalance the consideration with which inexorable destiny obliged him to treat her in public.

Notwithstanding her exclusion from political power in the government of England, the strong partiality of the people at large to their native princess still forced on William III. the necessity of treating her with the outward and visible signs of respect consonant with her station. Foreign states did not forget her rank ; for instance, the doge and republic of Venice, however popular the model of their government might be among the English revolutionists, very ungratefully refused to own William III. as king until the peace of Ryswick was nearly public. They likewise refused to grant any requests of his ambassador

¹ Lewis Jenkins : Biographical Tracts, Brit. Museum.

² Lord Dartmouth’s Notes to Burnet.

before they received letters of compliment (in reply to some they had sent) from the princess Anne and her husband. These had to be sent for; and when they came, the English ambassador, lord Manchester, in his despatches, complains of his embarrassment, because these letters had been forwarded to him by the secretary of the princess sealed up without any copies.¹

The princess passed the autumn at Tunbridge Wells, to which salubrious place she was accompanied by her son. Here the young duke, under the care of his clerical tutor, Pratt, studied fortification with great assiduity. The tutor had been given a doctor of divinity's degree at Oxford, wholly and solely, observes Lewis Jenkins, by the favor and influence of the princess Anne, the advancement not being due to his learning. Indeed, the employment of the duke of Gloucester's tutor at Tunbridge did not savor much of matters divine; for, by the leave of the princess, he made "a pentagon," with all the outworks according to the rules of fortification, in a wood near the Wells, for his princely pupil's improvement and entertainment; "which answered so well," adds Lewis Jenkins, "as to gain Dr. Pratt much credit, by doing, in fact, what did not properly belong to his cloth or his office, and thereby depriving another of being employed, who, from his long and faithful attention to the young duke's person, would have ventured his life in his service."

The princess and her son removed from Tunbridge to Windsor castle till the king's return to England; at the same time, Lewis Jenkins, in high dudgeon at the aforesaid pentagon made in the wood at Tunbridge Wells by the bellicose divine, Dr. Pratt, and, "from such like discouragements," resigned his appointment in the service of the princess. The place of his retreat was rather a suspicious one, being to Rouen, the very head-quarters of the English Jacobites. He went, according to his own account, into trade there with a French merchant, "as it were," he pursues, "to begin the world again, having stronger inclinations for business than for a court life, which I could not leave

¹ State-Papers of Christian Cole, pp. 20-23.

without some regret, as I had the highest respect for the princess that I had the honor to serve, as well as friendship for some persons about the court of the princess, of which I took my final leave." Thus did the quaint and simple-minded narrator of domestic events in the royal family withdraw himself from his post, and at the same time shut out the view afforded to his readers of the palace-life of the princess and her son. Assuredly, the tuition of the young prince, according to his account, was in its outset conducted somewhat by the rules of contradiction. The doctor of divinity provided by her royal highness to inculcate devotional precepts was only successful in imparting to him, not things divine, but matters militant. An old lady, whose concern with the princess was only to let her a house, instructed her child in all he practically knew of religion, while his door-keeper gave him notions of "history, mathematics and stuff," according to the erudite classification of his governess; to which may be added, that from his mother's chairmen and his father's coachmen he imbibed the vulgar tongue, and they taught him, withal, to box. Such was the undercurrent of affairs, while on the surface other statements have passed down the stream of history, as illustrative of the young duke's propensities and praiseworthy predilections to battles and sieges, his aversion to poetry and to all the fine arts being lauded by right reverend historians¹ with as much unction, as if sovereigns and their heirs, apparent or presumptive, were sent into the world for the sole purpose of slaughtering the human species.

It was the intention of the flatterers of William III. to make out that his successor would prove the very mirror and model of himself, and that the young duke of Gloucester would surpass that monarch in his hatred to poetry, music, painting, and dancing. The evidence of the child's dislike to the latter had no better foundation than the trifling fact that when the princess Anne found him a little recovered from the woful affliction in his head, which

¹ In White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough's *Perfect History*, vol. iii.; likewise, Burnet's *Own Times*.

caused unsteadiness to his footsteps, she ordered him to be taught regularly to walk and dance, and appointed for this purpose Mr. Gorey, who, as he is designated as "an old rich dancing-master," had probably instructed her royal highness in her childhood; but with this aged dancing-master her little son fell out, and bestowed on him the epithet of "old dog," because he strained his limbs in some gymnastic or other. As for the dislike of the young duke to poetry, it is utterly contrary to truth, for he frequently endeavored to make rhymes. The love of a child for the fine arts can only be shown by the interest he takes in picture-books and puppet-shows, and of these little Gloucester was more than commonly fond. He demanded to see "cuts" or engravings of every historical tale he heard; moreover, the princess, his mother, established for him a puppet-theatre at Campden house; nor must this excite astonishment, since Steele and Addison devote many papers of their immortal *Spectator* to discussion of the puppet-shows which were the favorite morning amusement of the belles and beaux years subsequently, when the princess was on the throne as queen Anne. As if everything asserted on the subject of this young prince's education, however trifling, was to prove the exact reverse of fact, it appears that the princess had had some little rhymes, hammered out between the child and his faithful Lewis, set to music, to indulge her son's tastes, by John Church, who was one of the choristers of the king's chapel and of Westminster abbey, a pupil of the illustrious Henry Purcell. "The music of John Church gave very great satisfaction to the princess; and as for the duke of Gloucester, he was delighted with it." Such are the words of an eyewitness.¹ It is to be feared that, in the course of the princely child's subsequent education, all which was innocently amusing and civilizing in the arts, the cultivation of which forms the glory of the most glorious of rulers, a great peace sovereign, was sedulously eradicated and discouraged, in compliance with the tastes of those in power.

¹ Lewis Jenkins. The notes and arrangement of John Church's music are printed, and appended to Lewis Jenkins's Tract, Brit. Museum.

While the princess Anne remained at Windsor in 1697, the marquess of Normanby¹ paid her another visit. It seems that, on account of his learning, accomplishments, and literary acquirements, he had been deputed by the junta of nine to examine into the mind and capacity of her son. The result was, that the marquess pronounced "the young duke of Gloucester capable of learning anything."² From this time it was considered requisite that the education of the princely child should regularly commence, and that he should be taken out of the hands of his mother's ladies. The delicacy of his health and constitution, and the extreme anxiety of his mother lest she should not be able to rear him, had caused the child to remain a nursling, cherished by female tenderness, until after his eighth birthday,—a year longer than any of his line had ever been. Even the princess herself now became desirous that his regular education should commence.

In one of the visits of the princess to London the same autumn, she went with her husband to view the rising glories of the cathedral of St. Paul's, then approaching its completion. "They expressed themselves extremely pleased with that noble building, and gave money very liberally to the workmen." There was another person to whom their liberality ought to have been extended, even to the venerable architect of this glorious masterpiece, sir Christopher Wren, who had been deprived by William of his modest stipend of 200*l.* per annum, under pretence that he had not finished the cathedral! Strange to say, the venerable sage lived to finish the mighty structure, and reclaimed the niggard bounty of his country in his ninety-second year.

The education of the duke of Gloucester became now a matter of great anxiety to his mother, and the whole of the spring of 1698 was spent in agitating expectations concerning it. The result of events proves that the princess Anne was ready to submit to any pecuniary loss rather than to have her child torn from her home and heart. The parliament had voted the magnificent sum of 50,000*l.* per

¹ Her former lover, Sheffield earl of Mulgrave.

² Lewis Jenkins: Biographical Tracts, Brit. Museum.

annum for the expenses of the education and establishment of the duke of Gloucester, but the king appears to have been given unlimited power in the disposal of the child. All former precedents, both in England and Scotland, prove that royal children were placed in charge of some great noble or ecclesiastic or other during the period of their regular education; nor had the princess Anne any reason to suppose that she should be suffered to keep her child near her, any more than her ancestress Anne of Denmark had retained her sons or daughters during their tutelage. The children of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., as well as those of James I., Charles I., and James II., had been taken from the maternal superintendence, and brought up at a distance from their parents. Anne herself had been removed from her father, who, similar to herself in 1698, then only occupied the station of a subject.

The princess felt that the king had much in his power to annoy her, if he took from her maternal care this delicate and sickly child, whom she had reared with extreme difficulty. Fortunately for her, the king was only sedulous on two points: the first was, how little of the 50,000*l.* per annum allowed by the nation for the use of the duke of Gloucester need be paid for his education and establishment; the other was, that the boy should have no other preceptor than Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. This last was a bitter sorrow to Anne, who had the lowest opinion of that person's character and disposition; she earnestly entreated the king, and prince George of Denmark joined in the petition, that the instruction of her child might be consigned to Dr. Hooper, dean of Canterbury.¹ The readers of the life of Mary II. are fully aware that in whatsoever esteem Dr. Hooper might have been held by such sons of the church of England as archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft, Isaac Barrow, or Sherlock, or Ken, he was not quite so much beloved by the Dutch king. In truth, Dr. Hooper, like Dr. Ken, had shut up doors with him when only prince of Orange, and the horror they felt in the contemplation

¹ Hooper MS., printed in the Appendix to Trevor's William III.; likewise the Life of that king, printed 1705, and Bio. Britannica.

of his moral qualities some contemporary letters regarding the one, and the diary of the other, have already shown.¹

The princess Anne could not endure patiently the appointment of bishop Burnet as her son's preceptor. Her royal highness was heard to complain, "that she considered such appointment as the greatest hardship ever put upon her by the king, who well knew how she disliked Burnet, and that she was sure that the king made choice of him for that very reason."² Burnet was himself conscious of the aversion of the princess, but the king insisted upon the measure.³ The bishop was exceedingly out of humor at this time, "having been disappointed of the great see of Winchester," says lord Dartmouth, "which preferment the king had put at the disposal of one of the lords of the treasury. To the sorrow of the princess Anne, Burnet was given the education of the heir of the kingdom, in hopes of satisfying his discontent."⁴

The manner in which the bishop mentions his appointment is remarkable, as well for the information as for the composition; perhaps it is the most extraordinary specimen of egotism ever printed by any author in our language:—⁵ "I was named by the king to be the duke of

¹ In both instances edited by friends and partisans of William. Mr. Trevor's work is a panegyric on William, from the first word to the last, yet he is the editor of Dr. Hooper's Diary, in his Appendix. Sidney, earl of Romney, to whom William III. granted at one sweep the enormous bribe of 17,000*l.* per annum, is the informant regarding the moral horror Dr. Ken had of that prince. If the friends of William left such documents for the instruction of biographers, what, may we ask, would enemies have done?

² Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's History of His Own Times, vol. iv. p. 376.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ If the mighty mind of Coleridge had made itself more familiar with what human beings actually did, rather than how they thought, he would have hit on this historical passage as a thorough instance of practical egotism, far more real, and nearly as concise, as the clever satire he has improved from the German. In his delineation of an egotist, he declares of his hero,

"A pronoun, verb-imperative, he shone,"

and describes him thus holding forth:—

Gloucester's preceptor. *I* used all possible endeavors to excuse myself. *I* had hitherto no share in the princess's favor or confidence. *I* had also become very uneasy at many things in the king's conduct. *I* considered him as a glorious instrument raised up by God, who had done great things by him. *I* had also such obligations to him, that *I* had resolved, on public as well as on private accounts, never to engage in any opposition to him; yet *I* could not help thinking he might have carried matters further than he did, and that he was giving his enemies handles to weaken his government. *I* had tried, but with little success, to use all due freedom with him; he did not love to be found fault with, and either discouraged *me* with silence, or answered in such general expressions that they signified little." Lord Dartmouth, his contemporary, illustrates this passage by observing that the king "had complained of bishop Burnet breaking in upon him, whether he would or no, and asking him questions that he did not know how to answer without trusting him more than he was willing to do, having a very bad opinion of his retentive faculties."¹ The bishop mentioned his own reluctance to undertake the office of preceptor to the young prince, and describes how it was finally arranged. "The young duke of Gloucester was to live at Windsor, because it was in the diocese of Salisbury; and the bishop was allowed ten weeks in the princely pupil's vacations, to attend to the rest of his episcopal duties." He affirms that all his endeavors to decline this advancement were unavailing, for the king said, "he could only trust that care to him." It is certain that no other prelate was bound to identify himself so thoroughly with the revolutionary government as

"Here, on this market cross, aloud I cry,

I, I, I! I itself I!

The form, the substance, the what and the why,

The when and the where, and the low and the high,

The inside, the outside, the earth and the sky,

I, you, and he—and he, you, and I,

All souls and all bodies are I itself I!

All I itself I!"

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. iv. p. 376.

Burnet, and that, as his fortune and station wholly depended on its stability, king William was as certain that Burnet would bring up the boy in as utter hatred to his grandfather James II. as the regent Murray was, when he placed Buchanan as tutor, that he would inculcate in the infant mind of king James every foul stigma against his mother, Mary queen of Scots. The motives of each appointment were similar.

It has been shown that the king had appropriated to his own use an enormous share of the 50,000*l.* per annum added by parliament to the civil list for the purpose of the education of the duke of Gloucester. He had, indeed, retained the whole since the peace of Ryswick.¹ Nor could any entreaties of the princess induce his majesty to allow more than 15,000*l.*,² scarcely more than a quarter of the sum he received for the establishment of the heir to the British empire. From this fragment the princess solicited that a small part might be advanced, that she might purchase plate and furniture needful for the extension of her son's establishment. But William III., whose character never appears less attractive than when he is seen in history in the act of grasping some ill-gotten pelf or other, positively refused to advance her a doit;³ yet the princess Anne was prepared to submit to all losses, so that her boy was not withdrawn from her personal society; besides, to smooth the other hardships, the earl of Marlborough was appointed his chief governor. At the first view, this measure may appear rather extraordinary, when the indignities are remembered which had been heaped on the princess Anne only for her private regard for Marlborough and his wife; but king William's antipathy to Marlborough had become modified since the death of queen Mary. Most of the real kingly functions were executed by the junta of the oligarchy, resembling the Venetian Council of Ten: a majority of these persons were Marl-

¹ The addition voted by parliament was 100,000*l.*, half of which the English parliament had allotted for the payment of the dowry of James II.'s queen, the other moiety for the education of the duke of Gloucester.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

³ *Ibid.*

borough's old colleagues, who had aided him in effecting the Revolution. The junta treated with him as a power who had, among other advantages, possession of the mind and will of the princess Anne, the heiress of the crown.

If king William could draw from the English house of commons sufficient supplies, he cared little how the English junta arranged for the future. He had been heard to say, "Let all remain according to my wish now, and those may have the crown who can catch it when I am gone." A cynic might have laughed, and doubtless many did, at the utter absence of all apprehension by king William and the junta that Marlborough and the princess Anne would act on their avowed contrition to king James. On the contrary, William calculated to a nicety that Marlborough would renounce and betray the distant lineal heir, and cleave to the rival duke of Gloucester, over whose mind an empire would have been established, commenced in early youth. Such was the secret spring of a measure which seems, at the first view, extremely inconsistent with the previous occurrences in the lives of both the royal sisters, Mary and Anne.

The earl of Marlborough was permitted by king William to attend his levee, June 19, 1698, and kiss his hand,¹ on his appointment as governor to the duke of Gloucester. The king, who was certainly no composer of compliments in general, is said to have addressed to the object of his former contempt the following fine eulogy on this occasion:—"My lord, make the duke of Gloucester like yourself, and I desire no more."² King William likewise nominated the new governor one of the junta of nine, called by the people "the nine kings," and by the parliament "the nine lords-justices." Lord Marlborough had previously been appointed to a similar place, when William and Mary first ascended the throne.

William III. did not leave England for the delights of

¹ Macpherson's History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 141.

² Coxe, and all the biographers of the duke of Marlborough, repeat this speech. Had it ever been uttered, the duchess would never have omitted it in her Conduct.

his Loo palace that year until July 20th; neither was the establishment for the young duke of Gloucester's household and education settled even then, since lady Marlborough expressly says "that the king took with him a list of the young duke's intended officials, which he had, in an access of unwonted graciousness, told the princess Anne to draw out for his approval." These are the words of Sarah of Marlborough: she had every reason to know the truth, with all its minutiae, if she chose to relate it accurately, and in this instance her narrative is corroborated by other contemporaries. "The king," she says, "influenced by lord Sunderland, sent the princess word, 'That though he intended to put in all the preceptors, he would leave it to her to choose the rest of the servants, except one, which was to be Mr. Sayers.'¹ The princess received this message with extreme pleasure, for it was more humane, and of a different air, from aught that she had been used to. She immediately set herself to provide proper persons of the most consideration for the several places. Mr. Boscawen² and the son of Mr. secretary Vernon were chosen by her royal highness to be the grooms of her son's bed-chamber, and the sons of the earls of Bridgewater and Berkeley were to be his pages of honor. Meantime, king William was in no hurry to finish the affair of the duke of Gloucester's establishment. He let lord Marlborough know 'that he would send a list from abroad of the servants he chose to have in the young duke's family; but he regarded not in the least the message he had previously sent to the princess.' It was then represented to his majesty, 'that the princess, upon the credit of his first gracious message, had engaged her promise to several persons; and it was to be hoped his majesty would not give her mortification at a time when any trouble of mind might do her great prejudice, as she soon expected the birth of another child.'³

¹ It will be remembered, in the Life of queen Mary, that she was, in her noted visit to Canterbury in 1693, escorted by a vice-chamberlain, quoted as Mr. Sayers.

² Probably the Eton boy who was sent for from the college by the princess to play with her son, on his first visit to Windsor castle.

³ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

The intelligence that his sister Anne was in the hopeful situation which might strengthen the Protestant interest, far from obtaining for her the slightest indulgence, appeared to aggravate the acerbity of the royal temper; instead of sending the complimentary congratulations customary on such occasions, his majesty angrily exclaimed, "Anne shall not be queen before her time, and I *will* make the list of what servants her son shall have!"—"The king remained so peremptory," continues the Marlborough, "that all my husband could do was to get young Keppel to try to bring him to reason."¹ The favorite took possession of the list drawn up by the princess, and promised that she should receive from Holland a more satisfactory account of the appointments. He exerted himself so zealously in the cause of the princess, that her own list was returned to her with but few alterations. The king made lord Raby's brother an equerry, and appointed to be "gentlemen waiters" two or three persons who had served queen Mary II. in like stations, and had pensions on that account; "but," adds lady Marlborough,² "it was to make savings in regard to such pensions that king William did so ungentlemanlike a thing as to force the princess to fail in such engagements." The king had evidently, on second thoughts, repented him of the leave he had given the princess Anne to choose the attendants of her son, and thought that he could save all the pensions he most unwillingly had to pay to his late queen's servants by giving them full pay in the service of the duke of Gloucester, and thus he should be able to "cut off another cantle" out of the 15,000*l.* Keppel very sagaciously 'proved to his master, that by making enemies of all the persons to whom the princess would be forced to break her promise, his saving would at the end prove a very dear one.

The poor princess Anne, while these disputes were in the course of settlement and progress, was forced to leave her grasping brother-in-law in full possession, for at least a year, of the income voted by parliament for the use of the duke of Gloucester, being unable to settle her son's estab-

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

Ibid.

lishment until the return of the king. The Flying Post announced the important facts, "that his majesty had paid their royal highnesses, since his return, a visit on December 17, 1698, and that his highness the duke of Gloucester hath had more domestics engaged in his service." The king, therefore, really obtained a whole year and a half's income of 50,000*l.*, almost clear of incumbrances, of this allowance, since the princess was unable to wrest it out of his unrighteous grasp. Yet the temper of the times did not authorize William III. in putting any very remarkable slight on the princess. Since the peace of Ryswick, king William and his English subjects had not been on those terms which rendered it very safe policy. His principal vexation was, that the English parliament insisted on his standing army being disbanded and his Dutch guards sent out of the country. William pleaded in person for the retention of his guards; but finding the parliament inexorable, he was forced to yield, being more than once reminded that this was partly the cause why his father-in-law was exiled. William remained in a black sullen fit for many hours, without speaking to any one; at last he broke into this exclamation:—"By heavens! if I had a son, these Dutch guards of mine should *not* go." This was the only time he ever was heard to regret his want of offspring; yet, notwithstanding all his saturnine gloom, he was fond of little children. An anecdote is extant of him, which places this propensity in a very pleasing light. One of his secretaries was rather later than usual in his private closet at Kensington, when a tap was heard at the door. "Who is there?" asked the king. "Lord Buck," was the answer. The king rose, opened the door, and there was displayed to view a little child of four years old,—young lord Buckhurst, the heir of lord Dorset, his lord high-chamberlain. "And what does lord Buck want?" asked the king. "You to be a horse to my coach. I've wanted you a long time."¹ With a more amiable smile than the secretary had ever supposed king William could wear, his majesty looked down on his little noble, and taking the string of the toy, dragged it up

¹ Horace Walpole.

and down the long gallery till his playfellow was satisfied. It was supposed that this was not the first game of play he had had with little lord Buckhurst.

Another personal anecdote of William is connected with his lord treasurer, Godolphin. This minister, who had ever been personally attached to king James, had entered into a plot for his former master's restoration. By one of those accidents that often befall persons who are in the receipt of a great many papers, Godolphin unwittingly put into the king's hands a packet of letters which most fully criminated himself. The king read them, and the next day placed them in the hands of lord Godolphin, who stood aghast at seeing what he had done. The king then said, "My lord Godolphin, I am happy to say that I am the only person who knows of this treason; give me your honor that you will put an end to it. I think after this I may trust you."¹

The first edition of Dryden's translation of the *Æneid* is somewhat oddly connected with the memory of William III. Jacob Tonson, the celebrated publisher, designed that the work should be dedicated to William III. Dryden, who had been deprived of his pension and laureateship by queen Mary, swore that he would rather commit his manuscript to the flames than submit to pay that compliment to the Dutch sovereign. He insisted on dedicating every canto to a separate *Mecænas* of his own among the aristocracy. The extensive patronage thus obtained for the work induced the publisher to let the poet have his own way. Old Jacob, though baffled, was not foiled, having devised a notable plan for outwitting Dryden, and flattering William at the same time; for he directed the artist whom he employed to illustrate the *Æneid*, to represent a lively portraiture of his majesty for the *beau-idéal* of the person of the pious *Æneas*. As the features of the hero of Nassau cannot possibly be mistaken wherever they are seen, the likeness was staring, and the bookseller rejoiced in the success of his scheme. As for William himself, he no more cared for dedications by an English poet than he did for

¹ Sir John Dalrymple's History of the Revolution in Great Britain, etc.

compliments in Chinese; either way, it was a matter of perfect indifference to him. Not so to Dryden, whose intense displeasure at the sight of the features of the pious Æneas¹ vented itself in the following bitter epigram, the more bitter because founded on truth:—

“Old Jacob, in his wondrous mood
To please the wise beholders,
Has placed old Nassau’s hook-nosed head
On *poor* Æneas’ shoulders.

“To make the parallel hold tack,
Methinks there’s something lacking,
One took his father pick-a-back,
The other sent his packing.”

In the course of three or four years after the death of queen Mary, the health of king William, which had been infirm from his infancy, seemed sinking under a complication of diseases. Dr. Radcliffe, his majesty’s physician, being one day in attendance on him, the king asked him what he thought of a complaint which had attacked his legs? “That I would not have your majesty’s two legs for your three kingdoms,” was the startling rejoinder. King William thenceforth banished Radcliffe from court, but as the great physician was a Jacobite, this was no punishment.

The national songs of Scotland at this period began to assume the tendency which gave them the designation of Jacobite lyrics. Bitter satire was the leading characteristic of this poetry, which conveys much information on the manners of the era; many, indeed, are the facts to be gathered from it, which are well confirmed on inquiry, though utterly passed over in general history. The following popular song of that century shows that the accidents of the seasons, aggravating public misery caused by war, increased the unpopularity of William III. in North Britain. It is part of the historical ballad of “O whurry

¹ In the library of his grace the duke of Devonshire, at Chiswick, is a magnificent copy of the first edition, the subscription folio, adorned with all the luxury of type and engravings. On examination, this curious anecdote is fully verified by the fact that every plate in which the pious Æneas figures presents a studied and staring likeness of king William.

Whigs awa," in the course of which the princess Anne is not forgotten:—

"Next we gat owre an Orange king,
That played with parties baith, man,
A Hogan Mogan¹ foreign thing,
That wrought a world of skaith, man.
When he came owre, our rights to save,
His father, friend, and a', man,
By his Dutch guards he drove to sea,
Then swore he ran awa, man.

"The fifth day of November, he
Did land upon our coasts, man;
But those who lived his reign to see,
Of that they did not boast, man.
Seven years of famine did prevail,
The people hopeless grew, man;
But dearth and death did us assail,
And thousands overthrew, man.

"But Willie's latter end did come,
He broke his collar-bone, man;
We chose another, couthy Anne,
And set her on the throne, man.
O then we had baith meal and malt,
And plenty over all, man;
We had no scant of sin or saint,
O *whurry*² whigs awa, man."

Another popular historical ballad alludes covertly and sarcastically to the reverse of the Episcopal church in Scotland; its title is "Willie the Wag,"—so it was printed, but it was sung "Willie the Whig."

"Oh! I had a wee bit mailin,³
And I had a good gray mare,
And I had a braw bit dwelling,
Till Willie the Whig came here.
He whiggit me out of my mailin,
He whiggit me out of my gear,
And out of my bonny *black gowny*,⁴
That ne'er was worse for the wear.

"He fawned and waggit his tail,
Till he poisoned the true well ee,

¹ A favorite epithet of reproach in Jacobite songs, a corruption of the Dutch title of honor, 'high mightiness.'

² Weary.

³ The provision for the Episcopalian clergy.

⁴ The canonical dress.

And with the wagging of his fause tongue,
 He gart the brave Monmouth die.¹
 He whiggit us out of our rights,
 And he whiggit us out of our laws,
 And he whiggit us out of our king,
 O ! that grieves me worst of a'.

“The tod² rules over the lion,
 The midden's aboon the moon,
 And Scotland maun cower and cringe
 To a false and a foreign loon.
 O ! waly fu' fall the piper,
 That sells his wind sae dear,
 And waly fu' is the time
 When Willie the Whig came here.”

These popular songs plainly show the unbroken spirit of Scotland ; despite of the deep wounds of Glencoe and Darien, the Scottish lion was foaming at the bit, and ramping to break the reins that held him. A spirit of the strongest personal sarcasm pervades the lyric productions of the Scottish poets at that time, and the most magnificent of their national melodies were made to forget their plaintive character, to accord with the rallying songs of the Jacobites.

In the spring of 1698 occurred an event, apparently of little consequence to the princess Anne, but which subsequently shook the throne to which she succeeded. Yet it was nothing more than the appointment of a destitute servant-maid, a daughter of lady Marlborough's aunt, to a humble post in the palace of the princess. Abigail Hill³ was the name of this kinswoman of the haughty favorite, who had been a servant-maid in the house of lady Rivers, of Chafford, in Kent. When lady Marlborough was first established at the Cockpit, at the time of the marriage of the princess, a lady represented to her that she had near relations who were in the most abject misery. At first the favorite denied that she had ever heard of such persons,—a singular circumstance, for most persons in families, either

¹ This allusion was unveiled in the publication of the Stuart Papers, by order of George IV.

² The fox.

³ Her servitude to lady Rivers is mentioned by Coxe, *Life of Marlborough*, vol. i. p. 257.

high or low, have heard their aunts mentioned. She was, however, successfully reminded that her father's sister had married an anabaptist, in trade in the city, who had become bankrupt; that this aunt was starving, with her husband; that her two young sons were in rags, and her daughters were servant-maids. The whole of this mortifying detail had, perhaps, been laid before the proud favorite as a rebuke to her arrogance; fortunately for the afflicted persons, it impelled her to draw forth ten guineas from her purse for the relief of her wretched aunt, who expired, as did her husband, directly after the assistance arrived. The appeal had not been made, it seems, till their last extremity. Lady Marlborough began to consider that to canton the orphans on the public would be more gratifying to her self-esteem than leaving them in the degree of house-maids and chamber-maids. Abigail Hill was withdrawn by her fortunate kinswoman from servitude with lady Rivers, and given bitter bread as her own nursery-maid.¹ Bitter indeed it must have been, if conclusions may be drawn from a very pert letter of one of her young charges, Anne Churchill, in which that vulgar term of reviling, "creature," as applied to her cousin, most odiously occurs. Abigail Hill, silent and suffering, became, if we may judge from the representation of lady Marlborough, morose, misanthropic, close, and designing, being likewise of a temper so miserable that it preyed inwardly on her health, so that no change of fortune could cheer her melancholy. What an autobiography could have been written by this woman! who appears to have possessed the shy, proud disposition often noted in persons who have seen better days, and yet have sunk to the last wretchedness to which a virtuous person can fall,—that of common servitude.

Meantime, her brothers, the ragged boys—lady Marlborough especially points out their rags—were caught from the street, clothed and provided for from the rich harvest of patronage at the Marlborough command which opened

¹ The Duchess of Marlborough, in her reviling letters, frequently speaks of her cousin as her nursery-maid, as in her Correspondence (vol. i. p. 257), where, though she has blundered in the use of the relative, she means Abigail Hill.

St. Paul's Cathedral

PHOTOGRAVURE

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at the Revolution. The elder Hill was placed in the customs; the younger, Jack Hill, as a page to prince George of Denmark. When the household of the young duke of Gloucester was established, lady Marlborough slipped her cousin, Mary Hill, into the snug place of laundress, with 200*l.* per annum; but for her white slave, the melancholy superintendent of her nursery, Abigail, she reserved the place of bedchamber-woman to the princess Anne, and thus was enabled to have a deputy who could perform all her own offices when she chose to absent herself, apprehending no danger of being supplanted by a person so reserved and unattractive. Abigail had another connection at court, a climbing politician. This was Robert Harley. According to lady Marlborough's statement, the father of Abigail Hill was in the same degree of relationship to Harley, that his wife was to her. She adds "that Harley never did anything for his uncle or his distressed family, or owned the kindred,¹ till Abigail was likely to become a prosperous gentlewoman."

Since the advancement of lord Marlborough to the high office of governor to the duke of Gloucester, his lady had begun to lose the caressing devotion she had hitherto manifested for the princess Anne, and now and then permitted her to taste a spice of that audacious and overbearing arrogance with which she treated the rest of her contemporaries. Sometimes the aggrieved princess would let fall a word or two of complaint before the sympathizing and silent substitute of her haughty favorite. When the princess found no evil consequences ensued, that no tale was carried to Abigail's principal, and, above all, that no gossip story was raised in the court, the confidence was

¹ There is something wrong in this statement of lady Marlborough, for Robert Harley's mother was not *Abigail Hill*, but Abigail Stephens; neither had he an aunt whose maiden name was Hill. The only trace of family connection with the chivalresque pedigree of Harley is the family name of Abigail, with which some of its ladies were afflicted in the seventeenth century. We should believe all connection of the Harleys with the anabaptist Hill, who married lady Marlborough's aunt, the pure invention of that person, were it not for the abuse which the lampoons of that time level at Robert Harley's father, as a *fanatic* who had tasted the good things of Cromwell's outrageous taxation.

extended, and some condolences regarding the fiery temper of the "dear Mrs. Freeman," were received gratefully, and agreed upon by both with impunity. Such was the commencement of the intimacy between the princess Anne and the humble Abigail Hill, and such the domestic politics of the palace of St. James. Her royal highness continued to keep court that year with some degree of splendor. She frequently bestowed patronage on the theatres. Among other entertainments of the kind, she approved of the English opera. The Postboy¹ announces, "that her royal highness was pleased to see, this day, April 27, 1690, the opera called *The Island Princess*, which was performed by her command, at the theatre royal."

The education of the duke of Gloucester had proceeded formally under the surveillance of his preceptor Burnet, according to the account of the latter, since his highness's ninth birthday. As usual, the princess and her consort took their son to Windsor castle, July, 1699: the birthday of the young prince, and the wedding-day of the princess, were celebrated with balls and great splendor; the whole concluded with fireworks for the duke of Gloucester,—a circumstance which is never omitted in any public announcement of these rejoicings.² The course of study which Dr. Burnet thought best for the little prince of ten years old is remarkable for its dry and abstract nature; the child's docility was greatly commended, but the lively spirit that carried him through many severe attacks of illness supported him no longer. Two years' attention to the studies described by his right-reverend preceptor, would have been sufficient to subdue the petulance and break the health of a stronger individual than the little heir of Great Britain. No more of his lively sallies are reported after he was consigned to the tuition of Burnet. There is a beautiful picture of the prince, at this period of his existence, at Hampton Court: "melancholy seems to have marked him for her own." He looks like a young man of seventeen, too sensitive and delicate for this work-a-day world: the blue veins on the fair high temples, the pearly

¹ Collections, Brit. Museum.

² The Postboy, *ibid.*, July 24, 1699.

complexion, the mournful regard of the mild blue eyes, and the expression of premature care and thoughtfulness, are altogether unlike the merry sprite described by his faithful Lewis Jenkins.

The princess gave receptions and held her court at Windsor castle during the summer of 1699, to which the nobility occasionally travelled from London to present themselves. The month of August brought her a visitor of no very reputable cast, being the notorious lady Dorchester, the unworthy rival of her hated step-mother, Mary Beatrice. As this person posted to Windsor to make her obeisance at the court of Anne, when she thought proper to own her marriage with sir David Collier, it may be supposed that the princess kept up some intimacy with her, either as acquaintance or partisan. The incident is thus sarcastically mentioned by the marchioness of Halifax.¹ "I see marriage is still honorable, by your cousin Savill in the country, and my lady Dorchester in this town, who now owns hers to sir David Collier, and hath been at Windsor on purpose to kiss the princess Anne's hand upon it."

The consort of the princess Anne continued to live an easy and luxurious life with her, neither causing nor conceiving jealousies: either as prince or husband, had he displayed the slightest tendency to ambition, all parties would have hastened to attack him with envenomed libels. Inoffensive as he was, they would not permit him to remain at peace, but satirized his very peacefulness. One wicked wit² thus mentions him:—"They perceived another king³ hard by, in the same quarter, much concerned for the loss of a brother, whom, many years ago, he had disposed of extremely well, yet nobody since ever heard one word of

¹ Letter, in Devonshire Collection, from the marchioness of Halifax, dated August 22, 1699. Copied by permission. In the same series of letters, the marchioness mentions as news, that the first duke of Devonshire had purchased Berkeley house, so long the residence of the princess Anne, and that he had paid the first instalment August 3, 1699. This incident strengthens the tradition mentioned in Knight's London, that Berkeley house occupied the present site of Devonshire house.

² Sheffield duke of Buckingham's Works, vol. ii. p. 139.

³ The king of Denmark, brother of prince George.

him. Momus, laughing, said, 'The good prince was not quite dead, though forced to breathe hard to prevent being buried, because nobody perceived any other sign of life in him.' Some of the gods smiled, and said, 'It were well for the good of mankind if all other princes were as quiet as he was.'" This picture was drawn by a rival, the marquess of Normandy. It was well that the harmless prince had not afforded reason for severer satire. The brother alluded to was the king of Denmark, whose death in 1699 gave prince George some share in the troubles of this world, by plunging him into the deepest affliction. Christiern V. had been loved by him with enduring affection, which had caused him to perform, when fighting by his side, acts of generous and romantic valor, worthy of Bayard or Philip Sidney. Probably it was the esteem the Danish prince obtained in Europe for rescuing his royal brother from captivity by a desperate charge, when taken by the Swedes at the lost battle of Varna, that obtained for him the hand of the heiress in reversion of the British empire, which the princess Anne then was. Prince George had, since his settlement in England, frequently visited his brother at Copenhagen, therefore the love between them had not failed from entire absence. The king of Denmark died¹ September 4, 1699. Prince George of Denmark was in the depth of his mourning habiliments, and had not mastered his sorrow, when the birthday of William III. occurred, November 4th; on this account, the prince expressed his wish that his majesty would permit the princess and himself to congratulate him without doffing their sable weeds, fancying that liberty might be taken, "because the late kings, Charles II. and James II., never wished any persons in recent mourning for their relatives to change it for colored clothes on such occasions." King William's ideas on the subject of death and "mourning doole" were more consonant with those of Henry VIII. His Dutch majesty, although king Christiern was a relative of his own, and an ally withal, signified his pleasure that their royal highnesses were to visit him in gay court

¹ Calamy's Life and Diary, vol. i. p. 418.

dresses, or to keep away.¹ The prince of Denmark was both angry and afflicted at this message.

Other causes of disquiet relative to the death of the king of Denmark were felt by Anne and her spouse. The successor of Christiern V., his son Frederic IV., had, in the course of his travels in France, visited St. Germain, and had, despite of the rival interests of his uncle's consort, professed himself deeply interested in the exiled queen and her children, and, withal, mightily disposed to espouse their quarrel against the advancement of his young cousin Gloucester. An absurd dispute with Louis XIV. put a stop to his enthusiasm. That monarch would only address his despatches to the king of Denmark as "serenity," and not "majesty;" in retaliation, king Christiern directed his papers to the high and mighty majesty of France only as "serenity;" which proceeding did not produce much serenity in the tempers of either royal correspondent, for the king of France, in a great rage, bade his ministers address Frederic IV. only as *vous*.² Such were the childish matters that occupied the attention of sovereigns at the close of the seventeenth century; nor were they much amended in the commencement of the eighteenth, for we shall see that the princess Anne, when queen, was insulted by the emperor in the same manner, after millions of treasure and oceans of blood had been wasted by England in the cause of his son.

Notwithstanding the verbal skirmish with the *grand monarque* regarding the dignity of Denmark, the princess Anne and her consort had the vexation of finding that their nephew, Frederic IV., did his utmost against the government of Great Britain, and consequently against the succession of Anne and her son. Sir George Rooke forthwith bombarded Copenhagen with the English fleet; but the king of Denmark, after the reverses he sustained from the young Swedish hero, Charles XII., was compelled to make peace. William III., when the early successes of

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

² Despatches of the earl of Manchester, edited by Christian Cole, addressed to the earl of Jersey, p. 64.

Charles were described to him by Keppel, was heard to say, with a heavy sigh, "Ah, youth is a fine thing!"¹

These family griefs and troubles detained the princess and her consort later than usual, in the autumn of 1699, at Windsor. There is no notice in the Gazette or Postboy of their attendance at the king's birthday that year, 1699; therefore the prince and princess probably took his majesty at his word, and kept themselves and their mourning from the royal presence. The princess did not arrive at St. James's for the winter until December, when her *cortège* is thus described in one of the newspapers of the day:—² "1699, Dec. 2. Thursday, about four in the afternoon, their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Denmark, with his highness the duke of Gloucester, came to the palace of St. James's from Windsor, having eleven coaches with six horses each, besides some others that attended them. Yesterday they were complimented by the nobility on their arrival. A curious ode is prepared,³ to be sung, as usual, this morning, and *there's* to be a ball at St. James's, to conclude the solemnity of the day." The princess expected another accouchement in the spring of 1700: she was again destined to disappointment; her infant did not live to be baptized. During its private burial, in the night of Janury 27th, in the vault of Henry VII.'s chapel, an odd circumstance took place: some robbers stole into Westminster abbey, and lurking among the recesses of Henry VII.'s chapel, contrived to break open the tomb of Charles II., and rob his wax effigy of its regal array, and succeeded in carrying off all the ornaments. So far the information of the Flying Post; but it requires a little explanation. Charles II. had no tomb, but probably something of a hearse was placed on the spot where he was buried, on which was extended his wax effigy, in the same dress in which it was carried at his funeral. For want of a better, the people called this his tomb; thousands went to see it, and an additional charge was made for the sight.

¹ White Kennet's *Perfect History*, vol. iii.

² Flying Post, December, 1699: Collections, Brit. Museum.

³ Written by Hughes, author of the *Siege of Damascus*.

Since the robbery, Charles's wax statue has been dressed in a dark velvet costume, which was probably one of his old court dresses.

Among the few incidents which remain of the residence of the princess Anne at the palace of St. James, is the memory of a freak of bishop Burnet, who, it appears, united the office of almoner to the princess with that of perceptor to her son, since he usually preached at St. James's chapel. Here he perceived, or fancied, that the ladies of the princess's establishment did not look at him while preaching his sermons,—“his thundering long sermons,” as queen Mary called them; nay, bishop Burnet suspected that the ladies preferred looking at any other person. He therefore, after much remonstrance, prevailed on the princess Anne to order all the pews in St. James's chapel to be raised so high that the fair delinquents could see nothing but himself when he was in the pulpit. The princess could not help laughing at the complaint, but she complied when Burnet represented that the interests of the church were in danger. All traces of these high panelled pews have long disappeared from the royal chapel; but the whim of bishop Burnet was imitated in many churches, which had not been until then divided into pews.¹ The bishops and clergy of our church at the present day are, we have heard, by no means partial to these high boxes as inducements to pious demeanor. As for the damsels for whose edification the lofty pews in St. James's chapel were first devised, they were transported with the utmost indignation, which was only surpassed by the rage of the cavaliers of the court and household of the princess. One of the courtiers, supposed to be lord Mordaunt, vented his wrath by the composition of a satirical ballad on the intermeddling of Burnet, the gist of which was, that if the ladies of the princess had no better reason to restrain their eyes from wandering at church than a pew higher than their heads, their forced attention would do little good.

¹ Shorne church, in Kent, is, or was, an instance of Burnet's alterations. A lady must be tall, even to see over the side of a pew when standing. The whole of the church is parcelled out into these high boxes.

This squib ¹ has some historical utility, because it preserves the description of the principal ladies domesticated with the princess Anne:—

“ When Burnet perceived that the beautiful dames
Who flocked to the chapel of holy St. James
On their lovers alone their kind looks did bestow,
And smiled not at him when he bellowed below,
To the princess he went,
With a pious intent,
This dangerous ill in the church to prevent.
‘ Oh, madame,’ he said, ‘ our religion is lost,
If the ladies thus ogle the knights of the *toast*.²

“ ‘ Your highness observes how I labor and sweat,
Their affections to raise and attention to get ;
And sure when I preach all the world will agree
That their eyes and their ears should be pointed at me ;
But now I can find
No beauty so kind,
My parts to regard or my person to mind ;
Nay, I scarce have the sight of one feminine face,
But those of old Oxford or ugly Arglass.

“ ‘ Those sorrowful matrons with hearts full of ruth,
Repent for the manifold sins of their youth ;
The rest with their tattle my harmony spoil,
And Burlington, Anglesey, Kingston, and Boyle,
Their minds entertain
With fancies profane,
That not even at church their tongues they restrain ;
E’en Henningham’s shape their glances entice,
And rather than me they will ogle the *vice* !³

“ ‘ These practices, madame, my preaching disgrace ;
Shall laymen enjoy the just rights of my place ?
Then all may lament my condition so hard,
Who thrash in the pulpit without a reward.
Therefore, pray condescend
Such disorders to end,
And to the ripe vineyard the laborers send

¹ The earl of Oxford’s MS. Collection of Tory and Jacobite Verses.—Lansdowne Papers, 825, p. 236.

² So written ; but perhaps it means the courtiers who brought beauties into celebrity by toasting them at their drinking-orgies. Montague, lord Halifax, had the names of the court-beauties written on drinking-glasses, accompanied by quaint descriptive rhymes, which were repeated when the health was drunk.

³ The princess’s vice-chamberlain.

To build up the seats, that the beauties may see
The face of no brawling pretender but me.'

"The princess, by the man's importunity prest,
Though she laugh'd at his reasons, allowed his request.
And now Britain's nymphs, in a Protestant reign,
Are lock'd up at prayers like the virgins in Spain."

It was provided, among the other regulations of the duke of Gloucester's education, that four of the governing junta should examine his progress in learning every quarter. The child had gone through this somewhat arduous ordeal in the summer of 1700 with great credit.¹ He was considered a prodigy of juvenile attainment, and surely the mind of the poor child must have been crammed with extraordinary mental diet, for his answers on jurisprudence, the Gothic laws, and the feudal system perfectly astonished the four deputies from the governing junta. Nevertheless, all that the young boy answered on these abstract subjects must have been on the parrot system of education, painfully committed to memory, and pronounced without a concomitant idea. Clear and luminous ideas on jurisprudence, and the diverse laws which the communities of mankind have agreed to observe, can only be obtained by the exertions of riper intellect, as inferences drawn from the history and statistics of various nations, aided by the study of their customs and manners. A very small share of such information appertained to the preceptor; the pupil was more to be pitied, into whose tender mind sapless and incomprehensible verbiage was unwholesomely thrust. The languages and sciences to which young Edward VI. fell a victim were infinitely preferable, because they were connected with facts and ideas. The young duke of Gloucester's mind was chiefly occupied by this abstruse pedantry; added to which were those branches of the mathematics of use in sieges and fortification, together with the manœuvres of field-days,—all tending to train him for that injurious ruler to England, a regimental sovereign.

A circumstance happened, just before the princess and

¹ Roger Coke.

her household left St. James's palace for Windsor castle, which was supposed to have ultimately occasioned very injurious effects on the duke of Gloucester's health, by removing from him the physician who had successfully studied his constitution from his infancy. The princess Anne had always been remarked for her devotion to the pleasures of the table, but as life advanced, her digestion weakened, and very often she suffered under the reaction of the stimulants she took to improve it; she then became low-spirited, and apprehensive regarding her health. One evening she sent for the celebrated Dr. Radcliffe, at an inconvenient time, just as he had opened his second bottle of sack. He affected disbelief concerning the illness of the princess, and positively refused to prescribe any medicine for her, but made her attendants put her to bed, declaring that she would be well in the morning. In a few days, he was again summoned, at the same inconvenient hour, but he refused to leave his bottle. "Pooh, pooh!" said he. "Tell her royal highness nothing ails her but vapors; she needs neither physic nor physician." The princess was, of course, very angry, and struck him off her list of physicians,¹ with which Dr. Radcliffe was much delighted; for, as he said, "he hated the whig sovereigns so unfeignedly, that he should certainly have the credit of poisoning them; therefore he wanted none of their custom, not he!" Radcliffe had been appointed medical attendant to the princess Anne, by the king her father, in 1686;² in fact, the hostility between the princess and her physician had commenced as early as her flight from her father in 1688, when the bishop of London sent for him to come to Nottingham, to see after the health of the princess, which showed some dangerous symptoms. Radcliffe indulged in much coarse vituperation on her conduct, and finished by assuring her messenger "that he would not come."

The princess Anne and her household removed with the duke of Gloucester to Windsor before the expiration of

¹ This is one of Horace Walpole's anecdotes; it is, besides, related by the biographers of Radcliffe.

² *Bio. Brit.* : *art.*, Radcliffe.

the month of May. The following intelligence heralded their preparations for departure from St. James's that summer:—"May 21st. We hear their royal highnesses and the duke design for Windsor next week. Her royal highness has distributed a great deal of money among the poor of St. James's, St. Ann's, this Whitsuntide, according to her annual custom."¹ The languishing health of king William occasioned all politicians to be on the alert. The earl of Marlborough and his lady, although reckoned among the leading tories of the day, were perfectly certain that their political power would be limited to the mere personal influence they had over the princess, in case of her accession, if they remained in the tory ranks. On the accession of Anne, it was anticipated that such men as her uncle, her mother's younger brother Rochester, the duke of Ormonde, and other personal friends of her father, would govern the country under her reign, according to the economical plans of an earlier day. Well did the Marlboroughs, husband and wife, know that such statesmen would shrink from co-operation with them, for most of them were aware of the reiterated treacheries of their renewed correspondence with the court of St. Germain's, and the second betrayal of its interests when the coalition with the party of king William took place after the death of queen Mary. But the Marlboroughs had planned a great family alliance, which they truly foresaw would render them too strong for the old-fashioned statesmen who scrupled the daring anticipation of the funds of the country, according to the Dutch mode of finance introduced by king William. Lord Marlborough and his lady, therefore, asked a long leave of absence from the princess, and hastened to hold a convention at Althorpe with the old, serpent-like politician, Sunderland. They were joined in the organization of their family scheme by lord Godolphin, whose only son had, the year before, married their eldest daughter, Henrietta. The hatred lady Marlborough had borne to lord Sunderland (which, it may be observed, flamed through the despatches of Anne to her sister Mary

¹ Flying Post; Brit. Museum.

in 1688) when they were driving on the Revolution vanished, and the favorite, who had joined with her mistress in denouncing him to the late queen as “the *subtlest, workingest villain* on earth,” now gave her second daughter in marriage to his eldest son. The princess Anne had previously portioned the eldest daughter, having humbly craved permission in the following letter:—

THE PRINCESS ANNE TO LADY MARLBOROUGH.

“I have a request to make to my dear Mrs. Freeman; it is, that whenever dear lady Hariote [Henrietta] marries, you would give me leave to give her something to keep me in her thoughts. I beg my poor mite may be accepted, being offered from a heart that is without any reserve, with more passion and sincerity, my dear Mrs. Freeman, than any other can be capable of.”¹

The mite was 5000*l.*; the same was now given to Anne Churchill.² Thus did the princess rivet the chains the weight of which was to crush her very soul during her remaining years.

The princess Anne kept the eleventh birthday of her son, the duke of Gloucester, with great rejoicings, little anticipating the result. The boy reviewed his juvenile regiment, exulted in the discharge of cannon and crackers, and presided over a grand banquet. He was very much heated and fatigued, and probably had been induced to intrench on his natural abstemiousness. The next day he complained of sickness, headache, and a sore throat; towards night, he became delirious. The family physician of the princess sought to relieve him by bleeding, but this operation did not do him any good. There was a general outcry and lamentation in the young duke's household that he would be lost, because Dr. Radcliffe was not in attendance on him, owing to the affront the princess Anne had taken. Dr. Radcliffe was, however, sent for by express, and though unwilling, he was prevailed on to come. When he arrived at Windsor castle and saw his poor little patient, he declared the malady to be the scarlet fever. He demanded “who had bled him?” The physician in attend-

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 285, 287.

² The princess offered ten thousand pounds to each bride; if lady Marlborough is to be believed, she only accepted five thousand for each daughter.

ance owned the duke had been bled by his order. "Then," said Radcliffe, "you have destroyed him; and you may finish him, for I will not prescribe." The event justified the prediction of the most skilful physician of the age, but he was as much abused by the people, who clung to the last scion of their native princes, as if he had wilfully refused to save the child.

The unfortunate princess attended on her dying child tenderly, but with a resigned and grave composure which astonished every one.¹ She gave way to no violent bursts of agony, never wept, but seemed occupied with high and awful thoughts. In truth, she was debating, with an awakened conscience, on the past, and meditating on the retributive justice of God.

Lord Marlborough was summoned from Althorpe to the sick-bed of his young charge, but arrived only in time to see him expire. The death of the young duke took place July 30, 1700, five days after his birthday. The thoughts of Anne were, at this crisis of her utter maternal bereavement, wholly and solely fixed on her father. All she felt as a parent reminded her of her crimes towards him. She rose from the bed, where was extended the corpse of her only child, with an expression of awe and resignation on her features which made a solemn impression on the minds of all who saw her, and sat down to write to her father, pouring out in her letter her whole heart in penitence, and declaring her conviction that her bereavement was sent as a visible punishment from heaven for her cruelty to him. It does not appear that Anne had ever felt the slightest touch of real penitence at any previous period.²

¹ Burnet's Hist. of His Own Times.

² Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. ii. p. 223. Her letter, which seems to have been dictated by sincere feelings at the time, has not yet come to light, yet its tenor is clearly to be ascertained in documents connected with the era. The princess positively promised, moreover, "that she would use her utmost power to effect the restoration of her brother if ever she came to the throne, and that she would only accept that dignity in trust for him." Lamberty and Carte affirm this, although neither had the slightest connection with each other.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER III.

The princess Anne's conduct and feelings on the death of her only child, the duke of Gloucester—She remains at Windsor during his funeral—She exasperates William III. by her letter to her father—The princess receives no condolences from William—Her mortification at this neglect—Annoyed at his omission to notify her son's death to Louis XIV.—Disgusted by his meanness in regard to her son's attendants—Continues their salaries herself—The princess overhears lady Marlborough reviling her—Keeps secret her knowledge of it—It forms the foundation of the princess's dislike to her—Princess receives news of her father's death—Goes in deep mourning for him—Conscious of the failing health of king William—Supposes that her own reign approaches—Commences the study of history—Soon tired of it—Plot to hinder her accession to the throne—King William's fatal accident—Princess Anne visits him with her consort—Attainder of her brother—The princess is denied access to king William's sick-chamber—She receives hourly bulletins of his failing breath—Death of William III.—Is succeeded by the princess Anne.

THOSE who judged merely by the princess Anne's outward demeanor, said that she bore the death of her son, the duke of Gloucester, with the characteristic apathy of her nature,—a nature supposed to have been devoid of the tenderer emotions of the female heart. She gave, however, one proof of sensibility, which affords indubitable evidence that feelings of a still more agonizing nature than maternal grief were awakened in her heart by the unexpected blow that had made her house desolate. Temporal judgments were according to the spirit of the theology of that century, and the conscience of Anne Stuart brought them home to herself. The daughter who had assisted in dethroning and driving her king and father into exile for the sake of aggrandizing her own offspring and supplanting

her brother, was rendered childless. Her sin was called to remembrance by the death of her son. He, the desire of her eyes, had been taken from her by a stroke. In that dark moment, when the object of all her sinuous policy was in the dust, the princess Anne felt a yearning and desire for the sympathy of that injured parent who had so often mourned with her over her blighted maternal hopes on former occasions,¹ and she despatched an express, but very secretly, to St. Germain's with her letter, to inform king James of the calamity that had befallen her in the untimely death of her son and his grandchild, the duke of Gloucester.²

Upon lord Marlborough, the duke of Gloucester's governor, had devolved the duty of announcing to the king the death of his near relative. The demise of the duke of Gloucester took place in July, and the information to king William was sent as soon as it occurred; his majesty condescended no reply. The princess Anne pertinaciously remained at Windsor castle, although the body of her only child lay in state in the suite of apartments which had been devoted to his use there. On the 4th of August the earl of Marlborough and Mr. Sayers escorted the corpse from thence by torchlight, through the Little park and Old Windsor, and by Staines and Brentford, to Westminster. The body of the young prince arrived at the place of destination, being Westminster hall, at two o'clock the same morning. It was conveyed to the antique chamber called 'the prince's robing-room,' where it lay in state until the

¹ Lamberty's *Memoirs for the Seventeenth Century*, vol. i. p. 121.

² Christian Cole, the author of *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, endeavors to controvert this assertion, which he affects to consider highly derogatory to Anne's duty to her brother-in-law, William III. He even says that the contrary is proved by the earl of Manchester's letters, which he edited. He could neither have read the work he edited himself, nor could he ever have expected any other person so to do, for the earl of Manchester says positively, "that his first intelligence of the death of the duke of Gloucester came from St. Germain's." These are his words:—"Yesterday morning, they [James II. and his family] had an express at St. Germain's from England, with the news that the duke of Gloucester is dead. I fear it is too true. My letters are not yet come."—Letter of the earl of Manchester to Mr. Blathwayte, in Christian Cole's *Affairs of State*, p. 193.

night of solemn interment, in the vault near Henry VII.'s chapel, August 9th.¹

The reason of king William's unexampled neglect of the communication announcing the death of his heir was, beyond all dispute, because the princess Anne had written, in her grief, to her father. As some historians have bestowed great pains in clearing the princess of this *crime*, it is only proper to verify the fact from documentary sources. Lamberty, whose evidence is indisputable, as he had been the confidential secretary of Portland and William III., thus declares his knowledge on the subject:—²“The duke of Gloucester, who was the hope of the English, happening unfortunately to die, the princess Anne, his mother, sent very clandestinely an express to the court of St. Germain, to notify his death there. The earl of Manchester, who was ambassador from England at Paris, and who watched that court, was advised of it. He despatched his secretary, Chetwynd, under *other pretences*, to Loo, to inform the king of it.” The pretences here mentioned on which this person was ostensibly sent to Loo were according to the spirit of the two preceding centuries, in which plots of assassination, sometimes real, but oftener fictitious, were the master-springs of state machinery. Lord Manchester pretended to have found out at Paris that two Irishmen were plotting to poison king William. This ambassador, making loud demonstrations of indignation at the French court, sent off his secretary to Loo, ostensibly with warnings of the poison-plot, but his real object was to communicate to king William the dereliction of the princess Anne.³ “It was because,” pursues Lamberty, “such a sort of step—so contrary to what the princess Anne had always shown—made it appear that she had ill designs; we shall see it by a secret writing, which was found when she was dead.”⁴

¹ Roger Coke, and Toone's Chronology.

² Lamberty's *Memoirs for the History of the Seventeenth Century*.

³ Lord Manchester's letters in C. Cole's *Memoirs* are in complete coincidence with Lamberty's words.

⁴ Lamberty's *Historical Memoirs*, vol. viii. Much curious information has been found regarding Anne in these *Memoirs* of Lamberty, but not the paper here alluded to.

William's coldness and contempt to the feelings of the princess Anne and her consort, in regard to the mourning for the young prince, their son, though he had always professed affection for him, afford confirmation of this statement. In fact, his conduct on that occasion was not commonly humane, considering the nearness of the relationship of the boy to himself, independently of his being the nephew of queen Mary. Court mournings are lightly passed over in these days of utilitarianism; but the state of feeling in that age was different,—everything being then regulated according to the solemn *régime* of state etiquette on funeral matters.

Vernon, one of William's secretaries of state, writes on the subject of young Gloucester's death:—"We have very little news at present, after having had too much last week. The prince and princess are as well as can be expected under their great affliction." This letter is dated August 5th.

"August 18th.

"I suppose," wrote the perplexed ambassador, lord Manchester, "I shall soon have orders how I am to act, which, I fear, if from Loo, will not be so full as I could wish. First, if my coaches and servants must be in mourning, in what manner I must notify the duke of Gloucester's death? whether in a private audience of the king [of France], or publicly of the whole court? If so, I must have letters to them, as I had at my first coming. I am told, for certain, that the court of St. Germain's will go into mourning, and that they are already preparing. I need not say how pleased they are, and confident of being soon in England. Yesterday," pursues his excellency, "I was at Versailles, where the king [Louis XIV.] asked me privately, if the news of the duke of Gloucester's death was true?"¹

No one could be placed in a more embarrassing position, as regarded royal etiquette, than was William III.'s unlucky representative at the court of the most ceremonious monarch in the world, by the perversity of his royal master in giving him no intimation in what manner he was to announce the demise of his heir. In fact, William III. was in one of his long-lasting fits of silent rage, occasioned by the certainty of the renewed communication between the princess Anne and her father, nor did he per-

¹ Letters of the earl of Manchester, in Cole.

ceive any possible way of awakening in her mind a contrary interest to that of her nearest relatives. As far as was apparent to his perception, his sister-in-law had no object of affection likely to stand between the yearning of her heart towards her father, brother, and sister in France. In this he was, perhaps, deceived. Quiet and retiring as he was, prince George of Denmark had exercised, from the first, the most unbounded political influence over his wife of any person in the world. His religious feelings were far more earnest than those of the king, although he made little show of them, and had long ceased raising any political cry concerning his Protestantism. He by no means despaired of future offspring, since his princess had, within the last few months, been the mother of an infant. While prince George lived, king William need not have had apprehension of the feelings of Anne towards her own family being other than evanescent; unfortunately, William hated and loathed Anne much, but George still more, and he could only endure the least communication with them while he looked upon them as the passive and submissive tools of his despotic will. There was, assuredly, as shown on a particular occasion soon after, an involuntary yearning of remorse, and even of unconscious affection, in the recesses of his heart towards his uncle James; but no circumstances, however calamitous they might be, could awaken the slightest feeling of sympathy in him for the bereaved parents of the duke of Gloucester, although they had repeatedly proved his most efficient allies in the attainment of his desires.

According to the foregoing despatch of the English ambassador in France, the exiled king, James II., and his whole court of St. Germain, was actually paying the external mark of respect to the memory of the princely child who was the hope of Protestant England, and whose birth had been partly the cause of keeping his young uncle in a state of expatriation, before king William could be induced to acknowledge, either to his own or to foreign courts, that he had ever heard of his demise. Yet the injured son of James II. had put off his sports out of respect for the

death of his nephew, while William III. refused to show the least token of concern.¹

In token of his own near kindred to the princess Anne, Louis XIV. professed himself ready to order his court to put on mourning, and to assume it himself, for his youthful cousin, her son, as soon as the notification of his decease should have been formally announced to him by the British ambassador. That unfortunate diplomatist, meantime, fretted himself into a fever from the awkward predicament in which he stood between William and his successor Anne, to say nothing of his old sovereign, king James. Not only was he unable to signify the demise of the young prince to the king of France, but he was left in uncertainty what he and his suite were to do about their own mourning till the 22d of August, when Mr. Blathwayte, William's secretary at Loo, communicated his royal master's gracious pleasure in the following pithy terms, brought in at the end of various political notices about foreign affairs:—"Your lordship will have found the news of the duke of Gloucester's death too true. His majesty thinks that mourning for your person, and such as are near you out of livery, for three months, all that need be on this melancholy occasion."² Not a word, however, touching the important question of how the demise of the duke was to be communicated to his French majesty. More than a month had elapsed since his death. Anne and her husband had written letters themselves of formal announcement of their loss to Louis XIV., after long waiting for William to do so; but this only added to the dilemma of the ambassador.

"Last night," writes he to secretary Vernon,³ "I received letters from their royal highnesses for this court, which will not be received here unless there is a letter at the same time from his majesty; neither can I offer them without being empowered to do it, either by you or Mr. Blathwayte, as you see by the enclosed. I freely tell Mr. Griffith, whom I have desired to consult with you and my lord Marlborough upon this matter, there is so much time already past, that I wait with some impatience for your directions in what manner the duke of Gloucester's death is to be notified, the rather that I may prevent the discourses of some people, who would have it believed that this court is backward in paying us the respect of going into mourning on this occasion."

¹ Cole's *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, p. 199. ² *Ibid.*, p. 206. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

The same day the ambassador writes in more explicit terms on this embarrassing topic to Mr. Griffith.

“Paris, Sept. 8, 1700.

SIR:—

“I have received yours, with the letters of her royal highness the princess Anne and his royal highness the prince, and I shall be always ready to obey their commands, though in this case, upon inquiry, I cannot deliver the letters unless I had also one from the king to the French king. This court says, ‘that it is usual upon these occasions that the prince and princess send a person on purpose, with a character, who would be received as if he came from a crowned head, as they think was done in the case of the duke of Cambridge.’¹ If the prince and princess would avoid this, then a letter from the king, to be delivered by me with those of their royal highnesses, will be sufficient to make this court go into mourning. And as for the other letters to the rest of the princes, they need not be delivered. This will avoid one inconvenience, as there is none for the dauphin. I am sensible of the reason why there is not; and I think it convenient not to make that matter so public as by consequence it would be, and cause various discourses.

“I desire you would assure their royal highnesses of my most humble duty. It will be convenient that you should inform my lord Marlborough and Mr. secretary Vernon of this whole matter, since I have received from Loo no other orders than to put myself and family in mourning, which I have already done. I hope I may know as soon as possible what measures are taken. I am, etc.,

“MANCHESTER.”

As late as the 15th of September the poor ambassador was still fretting in spirit, and writing to one or other of the English cabinet to complain that he had received no definite orders from king William, who certainly must have taken an ill-natured pleasure in the perplexity of his English officers of state on this occasion. Anne, piqued at the little respect that was paid to the memory of her only son, caused secretary Vernon to write to lord Manchester, to ask “why her letters to the king of France had not been delivered? and that court not in mourning?”—“Since my illness,” writes the ambassador, in reply, “my secretary has wrote to Mr. Cardonnel,² to explain whether any notice is to be given this court.”

LORD MANCHESTER TO MR. SECRETARY VERNON.

“Paris, Sept. 15, 1700.

“M. Cardonnel desires my secretary to acquaint me, that there are no orders given to notify the duke of Gloucester’s death to any court whatsoever. So

¹ Son of James II., when duke of York, deceased in the reign of Charles II.

² Secretary to lord Marlborough.

you see how this matter stands. I must tell you, to remove any suspicions that this court might seem not inclined to go into mourning, that they are ready to do it whenever it is notified to them in form, but they do not take it to be regular that I should deliver the princess's letters without any from the king; for you know, in all audiences that I have, my discourse is always in the name of the king, and cannot be otherwise, though I can at the same time make a compliment from their royal highnesses. They do still say here, that if this was the case of any of the children of Monsieur, he would send, and not the king. So, likewise, they conceive their royal highnesses ought to do. I am apt to think the princess had not sent these letters, had she not thought that I had orders also from Loo. I shall readily obey what directions you give me, but I confess it is my opinion that, since there has been so much time lost, and unless it is generally notified in all courts, that it is better to let this matter rest. Besides, this court goes to-morrow se'night to Fontainebleau, and in a few days after *the late king and queen*¹ go. How long they are to be there is uncertain, but whilst they stay, I know not well how I can go thither. I must acquaint you that the *introducer* of ambassadors has been with me, and has sent me some precedents,—those the duke of York² had sent to this court. I have enclosed a copy of his letter, that you may judge of it."

"September 17th.

"I do not doubt but you have heard that the princess has sent me letters for this court, to notify the death of the duke of Gloucester. Unless I have also letters from the king [William III.] himself, I cannot present them, nor will they be received, as I am informed. I should think the princess should have known the king's pleasure in this matter. There is so much time lost, that, in my opinion, it is much better to let it alone, for though they should go into mourning, it would be for so little a time, that it might not be well taken."

It was not till the 1st of October, upwards of two months after the death of the young duke, that William condescended to empower his representative to announce his demise to the king of France, although the nearest male relative he had in the world, excepting his uncle James II. and the disowned prince of Wales. A fortnight's mourning was ordered by that monarch, a result scarcely commensurate with the voluminousness of the correspondence it occasioned. The death of the king of Spain occurring soon after, William promptly ordered the utmost respect to be paid to his memory: his ambassadors had even their coaches covered with black. The court of France went into a three months' mourning for that potentate, but no

¹ James II. and his queen, Mary Beatrice.

² This must have been James II. before his accession, and the precedents relate to the deaths of his infant children by his first and by his second duchess.

regard was paid by William to the feelings of his sister-in-law on account of the death of her only child.

"I can now acquaint you," wrote lord Manchester, October 9th, "that yesterday I had an audience of the king, at Fontainebleau, when I notified to him the death of the duke of Gloucester, and delivered their royal highnesses' letters. The king expressed himself 'as extremely sensible of the great loss,' etc., as is usual on such occasions. As to what related to their royal highnesses, he concluded with saying 'that he would take an occasion of letting them know the great share he took in their concern.' In short, all things went as could be desired, and on Wednesday next the court goes into mourning, which will be the day after the *late king* [James II.] leaves Fontainebleau. I have some reason to think that my going thither, whilst they were there, may have a good effect; for of late the St. Germain people are so high that they think it is now our time to court them. I find, that though they heard a week before that I was to come, yet they could not believe it. I carried myself as if I thought there were no such persons, and my coach came to the great stairs, which is under the *late king's* [James II.] apartment there. Those that belong to them were cousins, brought to see me; but it was also, I believe, no little mortification to them to see where I went, all the French making me all the compliments imaginable. I was a considerable time with M. de Torcy, and satisfied him, both in relation to the delay and the king's not writing. *I was forced to lay the occasion of it on the lords justices*,¹ who (I said) the king thought would have sent me orders, which was the reason I had them not sooner from Loo. This, I hope, *they* [the lords justices or English regents] will pardon; but *when things are managed in such a way, one must make the most plausible excuse one can.*"

A few days afterwards lord Manchester completed the formalities, which even assume a tendency to absurdity, as communicated in his despatch of October 11th:—

"I have obeyed his majesty's commands in notifying the duke of Gloucester's death. The king [Louis XIV.] received it with great concern, and *bid* me assure the king, my master, 'that even at the time he first heard of it he took share in the loss, because he knew it would be a great trouble to his majesty.' With the other he sent compliments on such an occasion. I delivered the prince [George] and princess [Anne's] letters. To that he said, 'he would take an occasion of letting them know the great share he took in their loss.' In short, all things went as well as could be desired, and I hope his majesty will approve of what I have done. The French court will go into mourning on Friday next. They were willing to have the court of St. Germain gone away first, which will be to-morrow."

¹ This curious passage proves that the ambassador knew the fault did not rest with the *lords justices* (meaning by them the English regency), but with William III. The apology Manchester makes for inventing this falsehood, and fathering the fault of his royal master's brutality "on the nine kings," is almost ludicrous.

About the same time arrived the long-delayed answer from his gracious Britannic majesty to the announcement of the death of his young kinsman and heir to his dominions. Many historians have quoted king William's letter; not one has pointed out the astounding circumstance that although the death of the child took place as far back as July, yet the royal missive is dated in October! Months had elapsed since the death, and several weeks since the burial, of Gloucester, before the king condescended to notice that his heir was no longer in existence. No word of human sympathy, it may be observed, is vouchsafed to the wretched mother. The original is in French, and is addressed to lord Marlborough:—

“Loo, October, 1700.

“I do not think it necessary to employ many words in expressing my surprise and grief at the death of the duke of Gloucester. It is so great a loss to me, as well as to all England, that it pierces my heart with affliction.”¹

The affliction of king William did not, however, hinder him from sending, by the same post, a peremptory order that care should be taken to cut off all the salaries of the duke's servants, to the very day of his death. It was with the utmost difficulty that the king's favorite, Keppel, prevailed on him to allow the payments up to the Michaelmas quarter-day;² nor can there be a doubt but that the sole consideration of the approach of that pay-day induced his gracious majesty to write his condolence, for he could not cut off the salaries without appearing conscious that the princess's son was dead. The princess Anne, shocked at the disgusting contest which ensued concerning the payment of her lost child's servants, determined to distress herself rather than cashier one of them. When it is remembered that parliament allowed William III. a sum for the duke of Gloucester's establishment more than thrice as much as he disbursed, his conduct appears the more revolting. It is said by the same authority, that he murmured not a little at the pensions he allowed to the old servants of his late queen.

¹ Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, from the original French.

² *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 220.

Once more there was some movement among the lower class of coffee-house politicians, who knew nothing of the king's habits of life, to persuade him into matrimony; they got up an address, on the death of the duke of Gloucester, earnestly petitioning him to marry, for the good of the nation. The story was revived, which was current in 1697, that, while staying at Brussels, the king had "coquetted" so much with a German princess as to induce hopes of his serious intention of taking a second queen; a princess of Denmark was likewise mentioned as a candidate for his hand.¹ The king remained, however, without any such intentions, sick and very sullen in his retirement at Loo. Towards the winter, his kinswoman, the electress Sophia, visited him at Loo, accompanied by her daughter, the electress of Brandenburg, for the ostensible purpose of seeking his assistance in elevating the country of Brandenburg into the kingdom of Prussia; of course the people of England supposed that the visit was for the purpose of settling the reversion of the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland on the next Protestant heir. It is certain that king William had urged some steps to be taken on her part, for a letter from the electress Sophia is existing, evidently in reply to a proposition of the kind. Her disinterestedness is manifest therein, since she earnestly recommended to the consideration of the king and country the expatriated prince of Wales. As her letter is addressed to Mr. Stepney, who had been envoy to Hanover, and was one of the under-secretaries of state, this letter may be considered as official.² It had the effect of incensing king William, who showed his displeasure by paying the electress only one formal public visit on her arrival at Loo, and departed for England the next day,—not very courteously leaving her directly she had commenced her visit to him.

Many weeks after the funeral of her only child, the princess Anne continued still to reside at Windsor castle, the place where she had seen him expire. She had left St. James's palace, the previous May, a happy and proud

¹ Biographical Anecdotes, MS. fol. 58, vol. iv. p. 224.

² Hardwicke State-Papers.

mother; she returned to it with her bereaved consort, in mourning, childless and desolate, November 25,¹ 1700. Her grief was deep and enduring. Bishop White Kennet observes, with more feeling than usual, in his narrative, "But grief upon this sad occasion seemed to be confined to within the palace of St. James, and to centre in a more sensible manner in the breasts of the prince and princess of Denmark, who mourned not only for themselves, but for the whole nation; for never was so great a loss so little lamented, which may be ascribed to the different parties then dividing England, two of which, I mean the Jacobites and the republicans, looked upon that hopeful young prince as an obstacle to their future designs. The duke of Gloucester was a prince whose tender constitution bended under the weight of his manly soul, and was too much harassed by the vivacity of his genius to be of long duration,"—an acknowledgment that the species of tuition to which he had been subjected had injured his health. "He had," continues bishop White Kennet, describing the boy according to what he considered a proper pattern rather than from fact, "early sucked in his mother's piety, was always very attentive to prayers, but he had a particular averseness to dancing and all womanish exercises; in a word, he was too forward to arrive at maturity."² Formal visits were exchanged between the princess and William III. after his return to England in the winter of 1700-1:³ they merely observed the terms of conventional civility in their intercourse.

Scarcely had the bereaved mother recovered from the teasing and irritating series of vexations which her cruel brother-in-law contrived to mingle with her cup of sorrow, than she began to experience how much the death of Gloucester had changed her worldly importance, even in her own household. It will excite no surprise in those who have followed the current of her biography from the first rise of her favorite, when the fact is shown that this change

¹ Flying Post newspaper, November, 1700; Brit. Museum.

² White Kennet's History, vol. iii. p. 784.

³ Flying Post newspaper; Collections of Brit. Museum.

was first manifested to her by the intolerable insolence of that most ungrateful woman. Lady Marlborough had just formed the strongest alliances, had strengthened her hands, and prepared herself to rule imperiously over a monarch *fainéant*, as did the "mayors of the palace" over some king of the Carlovingian dynasty in France; she was an exulting mother, glorying in a promising heir, and she had just married her two beautiful girls to the heirs of two statesmen of the ancient blood of England. In the contemplation of her boundless prospects, lady Marlborough wholly forgot what was due to her who had raised her. Anne's manner had become more humble than ever to her imperious ruler, her style in writing lower in its prostration. When the favorite was absent, her royal highness wrote to her four or five times every day. "Your *poor, unfortunate*, faithful Morley," was now her form of signature, having adopted the two first epithets to mark her own sense of her forlorn and helpless state since Gloucester's death.¹ Whatsoever wrong the princess Anne might have done, nothing but unbounded kindness and indulgence had ever been shown by her to Sarah of Marlborough and her family; therefore a heart of marble must that person have borne when she added her insults to the other sorrows of the princess. From no person did Anne receive such visible indications that the death of her son had indeed reduced her to the state of a "poor, unfortunate," helpless shadow of reversionary royalty, than from the graceless *parvenue* whom she had puffed up by her own absurd condescensions. In fact, lady Marlborough's arrogance became absolutely maniacal, after the princess lost all prospect of being otherwise than a queen without heirs. If she had gloves, or handkerchiefs, or napkins to present, in the course of her official duty, lady Marlborough was often seen to turn up her nose as she presented them, and avert her face as if there was something inexpressibly disgusting in the person of her too-indulgent friend. Such proceedings could not long continue unobserved, even by Anne's dense perception, and it was well known, by those

¹ Coxe MSS.; Brit. Museum.

skilled in the politics of the back-stairs, that the bonds which held her and lady Marlborough still united, were only those of early intercourse.¹

It was mere accident, however, joined to lady Marlborough's extreme recklessness in regard to the terms of insult which she used when not immediately in the presence of the princess, which revealed to her royal highness the real nature of her favorite's feelings towards her. The story is but traditionary, and though generally known among all ranks of the people, has, perhaps, never before been circumstantially related, which it now is from the reminiscences of a venerable countess, who had passed half a century at the court of her late majesty queen Charlotte. The family of this lady had been on terms of private friendship with the expatriated royal Stuarts, holding intercourse as well with those individuals on whom the crown had devolved; the tradition certainly came from Abigail Hill herself. "One afternoon, not many weeks after the death of the duke of Gloucester, the princess Anne noticed that she had no gloves on; she therefore told Abigail Hill, who was in attendance on her toilet, to fetch them from the next room, as she remembered that she had left them on the table. Mrs. Hill obeyed her royal highness, and passed into the next room, where she found that lady Marlborough was seated, reading a letter; but the gloves of the princess were not on the table, for lady Marlborough had taken them up by accident, and put them on. Abigail most submissively mentioned to her 'that she had put on, by mistake, her royal highness's gloves.'—'Ah!' exclaimed lady Marlborough, 'have I put on anything that has touched the odious hands of that disagreeable woman?' Then pulling them off, she threw the gloves on the ground, and exclaimed, violently, 'Take them away!' Abigail obeyed silently, and retired with her usual stealthy quietude, carefully closing the door after her, which she had previously left ajar. When she entered the room where she had left the princess, she plainly perceived that her royal highness had heard every word of the dialogue; but

¹ Swift, Observations, etc.

neither discussed the matter at that time, and the incident rested a profound secret between them, for it so happened that the princess had had no one but Mrs. Abigail Hill in the room with her. Lady Marlborough soon left the adjoining saloon, and certainly remained forever unconscious of what her mistress had overheard."

Anne had hitherto borne daily insults with patient humility, when they had only cast contempt on her mental capacity, but this unprovoked manifestation of personal disgust and ill-will she never forgot or forgave. The whole story is completely in keeping with lady Marlborough's own descriptions of her usual sayings and doings; it is withal, in some degree, corroborated by the incertitude perceptible in all her subsequent contests with Anne, in which she seems, in a puzzled manner, to seek for the original cause of offence she had given, without ever finding it.¹ Late in life, she received vague hints that the whole was connected with some story about gloves; yet it is evident that she had not the least clue to the truth, as the following passage appears in one of her letters, dated nearly half a century subsequently:—² "Mr. Doddridge writes a good deal to me, and expresses his satisfaction at reading *the book*;³ but wishes I had added more to the clearing of my character, as the king of Prussia has written a book, in which he imputes the ruin of Europe to have happened from a quarrel between queen Anne and me *about a pair of gloves*. I did once hear there was such a book printed, and that his majesty said 'that the queen *would* have her gloves made before mine, which I would not suffer the glover to do.'" Sarah of Marlborough pro-

¹ An erroneous version of this incident was current in France, and is thus recorded by that caustic historical essayist, Voltaire. After speaking of the insolence of the duchess of Marlborough to her royal benefactress, he says, "A pair of gloves of a particular fashion, which she refused the queen, and a jar of water that she let fall on lady Masham's gown by an affected mistake, changed the destinies of Europe."—Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV.*, Smollett's translation, p. 262.

² Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 458, April, 1742.

³ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, printed in 1742. By the "book," Doddridge means the "Conduct."

ceeds to deny the story entirely, but the very passage shows that there was some tale circulating in Europe, that the division between her royal mistress and herself originated with some trifling occurrence regarding a pair of gloves. It may be believed that she was wholly ignorant of the real incident, having forgotten her petulant and injurious words as soon as uttered, at the same time being totally unconscious that Anne had been within hearing of them. Her royal highness, contented with the insight she had gained by this slight incident¹ into lady Marlborough's real feelings towards her, never brought the matter to discussion. As for Abigail Hill, she was the most silent and secretive of human creatures, and in all probability never detailed the anecdote until her courtly life and all concerning it had forever passed away. Perhaps it is as well to mention that lady Marlborough's disgust and loathing at having touched the gloves of the princess Anne had no rational foundation, excepting, perhaps, some degree of feminine envy of the chief beauty her royal highness possessed. The hands and arms of Anne were, like those of her mother, very fine, and considered the most perfect in Europe, in regard to delicacy and form.

At this period was renewed the extraordinary offer of adoption of the son of James II. by William III., which had formed one of the secret articles of the peace of Ryswick; it is well enough known to be mentioned in all histories, even in those which asserted the most strenuously the fiction that this unfortunate prince of Wales was not the son of his own mother. Perhaps the justice of the step had been urged to the Orange king in the letters of the noble-minded Protestant heiress of the crown of Great Britain, Sophia, electress of Hanover, at the period of her recent visit at Loo, which has been mentioned. There is every reason to suppose that Sophia would write to the

¹ This court tradition has been preserved orally from the narrative of the late countess of Harcourt, of the elder line, the widow of Simon earl of Harcourt. This noble lady was nearly a centenarian, and had every means of knowing correctly the internal history of the English court since the era under discussion.

king, concerning the exiled prince,¹ at least as fully and freely as she did to his ministers, for she had known William from his youth upwards, had carried him in her arms in his infancy, and seen him daily in his boyhood, when she lived with her mother, the queen of Bohemia, at the Hague. Many circumstances combined to sway the mind of William towards his unfortunate kinsman; his failing health, likewise the movements of an awakened conscience, which from time to time are seen to glimmer through the anecdotes his contemporaries have preserved of him, and, above all, his abhorrence of the princess Anne, his hatred to her husband, and his ardent wish to exclude her from the succession.

Notwithstanding her recent profession of penitence in the letter she wrote to her father at the death of Gloucester, it is not probable that the princess Anne would have approved of William's determination in behalf of her brother, for her feelings of compunction seldom lasted longer than a few weeks. In fact, neither herself nor her husband despaired of becoming the parents of a numerous family. Either the "Jacobite letters," as they are called, of the high-minded electress, or some opinion of hers that had transpired about the period of her visit to Loo, had inspired Anne with the greatest apprehension concerning her, and had exasperated lady Marlborough into excessive enmity, which exhaled in unlimited abuse.² Sophia openly avowed that the young son of James II. had been atrociously injured by the calumnies on his birth, and that deeming him, as she did, a true representative of the elder line of her illustrious ancestors, she nobly considered that he had a right, as a free agent, to renounce at once the crowns of his kingdoms, and the liturgy of the church of England as a Roman Catholic, before he ought to be superseded by her son or grandson. Now, while young James was branded as a spurious child, he could not

¹ Vol. xii., *Life of Mary Beatrice*, where the evidences are discussed. See, likewise, Dalrymple's *Appendix*, and lord Dartmouth's *Notes to Burnet's Own Times*, vol. vi.

² See many passages in the *Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough*, published by Colburn, 1836; and many more, yet in MS., in Coxe's *Collection*, Brit. Museum.

exercise that free will. It is probable that the electress knew that this stigma was thrown upon him by the instigation and connivance of the princess Anne and her favorite, Sarah of Marlborough,—a fact that is undeniable from the letters of the princess Anne.

The renewal of William's offered adoption of the exiled prince occurred directly after the visit of the electress to him at Loo, but no little difficulty presented itself as to how the English people were to be induced to forego the prejudices which had been so carefully inculcated concerning this prince. As the father had been driven out of the country partly by the agency of the ribald ballad of "Lillabulero," so the people were to be reconciled to the son by similar means; the public pulse was felt, and preparation was made for the change, by songs written to the old English tunes prevalent from the days of the Plantagenets. The venal pen of the song-poet, D'Urfey (a very remarkable character, who had been an active writer of political ballads during the regencies of Mary II.), was put into requisition by the ministry of William III. in 1701.

Just at the period when the reports were popular and prevalent that king William meant to adopt the son of his uncle, the whig songster favored the public with the following lay of his own devising, adapted to the metre and tune of the popular old England melody of 'Gillian of Croydon,' the original of which, perhaps, dates as far back as the frolicsome days of prince Hal. As many Jacobite lyrics have been quoted, it is but fair to give a specimen of the poetic powers of the opposite party:—

" 'Strange news, strange news the *Jacks*¹ of the city
Have got,' cried Joan, 'but we mind not tales,
That our good king, through wonderful pity,
Will leave his crown to *the prince of Wales*,
That peace may be the stronger still,
And that they no longer may rebel.'

¹ The Jacobites are always called "Jacks" in the political slang of that day.

'Pish! 'tis a jest,' cried Gillian of Croydon,—
 Gillian, fair Gillian, bright Gillian of Croydon.
 'Take off your glass!' cries Gillian of Croydon,—
 'Here's a health to our master Will!' "¹

Some hints had actually transpired among the people of the adoption offered by William III. at the peace of Ryswick; that such proposal was made is equally mentioned by the royal historiographer of his own times (James II.), and the whig writers. Tindal, who is rather an important authority, being a contemporary controversial author much connected with the revolutionary government, thus marks the date of the last proposal:—"The earl of Jersey avowed to king William III. his attachment to James II., and on that account was sent ambassador to France, for the purpose of advancing a reconciliation with the exiled king, who was, by lord Jersey, entreated to listen to king William's overtures to make his son successor to the crown. This was after the death of the duke of Gloucester." Tindal adds, that king William "renounced all *these errors* before he died." He did so; but not until king James had positively refused to confide his son to him, as he himself records in his autobiography,² which is in complete coincidence with Tindal's printed history. It is likewise remarkable that king James dwells as much on the impossibility of trusting the life of his child with William III. as he does on difference of religion.

The vengeance of William, for his uncle's contemptuous rejection of his offered adoption of young James, occupied his last hours; but, in the intermediate time, he was forced to be content with leaving his hated sister-in-law in possession of all the hopes which parliament had authorized. It has been strongly asserted that king William meant to supersede Anne, by using his influence to place Sophia or her son, George of Hanover, as his immediate successor to the throne. He might wish to do so, but all events prove

¹ William III. Gillian was a fair hostess of Croydon in ancient times. D'Urfey has another of these Gillian parodies on Anne's accession, the refrain of which is, "Here's a health to our mistress Nan."

² Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, p. 510, date 1701-2.

that neither Sophia nor George considered the advantages offered worth engaging in a course of base intrigues. It is certain that neither the mother nor son esteemed Anne, although they never took any step against her prior claims to the succession.

The princess Anne had scarcely laid aside her mourning for her only child, when the death of her father caused her to resume it. Mary Beatrice of Modena, the widow of her father, wrote to her, in compliance with his death-bed injunction, communicating his paternal forgiveness to her for her conduct, and charging her, on his blessing, to make reparation to her brother for the injury she had done him. If Anne ever replied to this letter, her answer will be found among the sealed documents of the royal Stuarts in her majesty's collection at Windsor. It was probably the letter of the royal widow of James II. which is mysteriously alluded to in the following passage:—¹ "It was commonly reported at this juncture," says a contemporary,² "that, on his death-bed, king James charged his daughter not to accept the crown at the death of William, but, as she was childless, to make way for her brother; and that king William demanded to see this letter, which Anne refusing to show him, he vowed that he would do the utmost to exclude her from the succession. It was averred that papers to this effect were found in king William's closet. The house of lords thought proper to inquire into this report, and pronounced it unfounded, and that its repetition was *scandalum magnatum*."³ Nevertheless, such discovery was in the strongest coincidence with the foregoing passages, with the course of events during the decline of William, and with those of the first two or three years of the reign of Anne, when it appears most apparent that a jealous rivalry had succeeded to the remorse that touched her mind at the death-bed of Gloucester. To her husband's powerful but quiet influence may be attributed her change.

¹ Macpherson's Stuart Papers. Cunningham, the whig historian, strongly authenticates the proposed adoption, but *excuses* it, as done to deceive.

² Roger Coke, vol. iii. p. 132.

³ See Life of Mary Beatrice of Modena, vol. xii.

The demise of her father gave her no apparent sorrow, or her feelings would not have been made a question by a contemporary who narrowly watched her, and who had, at the same time, a relative domesticated near her person.¹ "How far the death of her father, king James, affected the princess," says Roger Coke, "I never could tell." He thought it needful, however, in his history, to make an apology for her going in black for her unfortunate father, by saying, "that decency and custom obliged her to do so;" and adds, "that she was actually in mourning for him when she ascended the throne." As a preparation for that event, which the failing health of king William showed could not be very distant, the princess Anne commenced the study of history,—a science inconsistent with a brain preoccupied with cards, court gossip, and trifling formalities of etiquette. The princess soon became fatigued with her new studies, and reverted to her former occupations.

When the news of the death of James II. arrived in London, public curiosity was greatly excited regarding the cognizance which would be taken of it by his nephew and daughter. King William was absent at Loo, entertaining as his guests the duke of Zell and his young grandson² (afterwards George II.) Since the firm refusal of James II. to let him have the young prince of Wales for his heir, William had ostentatiously patronized the young German prince as the reversionary heir of Great Britain, being the son of the hereditary prince of Hanover (George I.), and the wretched daughter of the duke of Zell, Sophia Dorothea. They were present when the news was brought to William of the demise of his long-suffering uncle, James II. It seemed as if the message of forgiveness sent by James II. to "his son," William of Orange, had been one of those awful summonses from the injured, of which such wondrous tales are told in the histories of the middle ages. William heard it at his dinner-table at Loo, with flushing

¹ Thomas Coke who was in the household of the princess Anne. We shall afterwards find him in the important office of her vice-chamberlain.

² Correspondence of Lawrence earl of Rochester; letter dated September 16 (O.S.), 1701.

cheek and downcast eyes; then pulled his hat over his brows, and sat in moody silence the livelong day.¹ If he were wrestling with a yearning heart, which told him that his earliest friend and nearest relative was gone where treachery could never find him more, he won the victory, as the subsequent attainder of his young cousin, a boy of twelve years old, fully proved; but from the afternoon when he heard of his uncle's death, William of Orange never looked like a man long for this world. Yet he was full of schemes for new wars and slaughters, luckless as he ever was in battle when opposed by any species of equal force: he only seemed to live when homicide was around him.

Among other embarrassments to the mind of William III., was whether he should go in mourning for his uncle: this was not decided when his minister, Auverquerque, wrote to England concerning the news, "forbidding new clothes to the royal livery-servants at Hampton Court until the king's pleasure was known." As James II. had worn no mourning for the death of his daughter Mary, and prevented a court-mourning for her in France, it was a matter of surprise when it was found that king William assumed sables for his uncle, not only on his own person, but his footmen and coaches were clad in the same hue. He intimated that he did not expect the nobles and court of England to do the same.³ Fashion, however, made his subjects imitate the proceedings of himself and his "sister Anne;" therefore the outward token of respect was almost universally paid by all ranks of the people to the memory of king James, for the princess Anne went through all the pageantry of sable, as if she had meant to be considered as a modern Cordelia. Her intention of going into mourning was announced in the Gazette of September 13th. St. James's chapel and palace were hung with black. Anne appeared in all the insignia of filial woe at chapel the Sunday after

¹ Dangeau.

² Correspondence of Lawrence earl of Rochester; letter dated September 16 (O. S.), 1701.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 288. Dangeau and the duke de St. Simon declare that William wore violet as mourning for his uncle.

the news of her father's death reached London. The establishment of the queen dowager, Catharine of Braganza (still retained at Somerset house), and all the individuals in her service, assumed mourning, by the orders of the dowager's chamberlain, lord Feversham. In short, the mourning in England for the exiled sovereign was a general fashion.

The career of William III. was very brief after this event. His asthma increased; he felt the decay of the feeble body, which the active mind disavowed. He consulted, under feigned names, all the most noted physicians in Europe, and among the rest the celebrated Fagon, assuming the character of a *curé*. Fagon, who was the favorite physician of Louis XIV., seems to have suspected the real rank of his patient; he inexorably sent word to the *curé*, "that he must prepare himself for death." The bad news augmented the malady. William III. consulted him afresh, under a new name. The skilful Fagon recognized the case of the pretended *curé*: he changed not his opinion, but conveyed it in more considerate terms. He prescribed for him medicines likely to alleviate, if not to cure. The remedies were followed, and some relief experienced; but the time had arrived when William was compelled to feel the nothingness of this world, in the midst of his new projects for a general war. He came to England as usual at the end of October, his first care being to open his parliament for the purpose of taking measures for attainting his uncle's orphan child, the young hapless James Stuart, and his widowed mother likewise, and to set every means in agitation to induce the English nation to enter into a new war.

The newspapers of the period were replete with their observations on the bountiful distribution of alms afforded by the princess Anne, the same Christmas, to impoverished housekeepers in the parishes of St. Margaret, Westminster, St. James, and St. Anne, and elsewhere in London. The people at large looked forward to change with some anticipation that their cruel burdens would be ameliorated at the accession of the princess, who was indeed their idol. Meantime, the Orange party were agitating a scheme for

her exclusion from the throne. Some declared that king William meant to imprison the princess for life,¹ and send for the heir of the house of Hanover as his successor; coffee-houses swarmed with hireling orators, who made the most disrespectful mention of her royal highness. Some politicians of the opposite party affected to believe that she would refuse to sanction the coming war, out of regard to her father's last injunction; others, with more probability, asseverated that the extraordinary measures then filling the senate with stormy debates on the expediency of attainting a child not yet out of his legal infancy, and his mother (who was forced to protect and do her best for him), were wholly at the instigation of Anne. It was further affirmed that she had said, "that she dared not mount the throne until these bills were passed." It is possible that one clause was inserted on account of her alarms, which was an act to make conspirators, endeavoring to injure or destroy her, liable to the same penalties as against the heir-apparent.² In regard to the attainder of her young brother, and of her step-mother, Mary Beatrice, there is no other evidence that the measures originated with the princess Anne than the positive assertion of one of Louis XIV.'s ministers, Dangeau,³ corroborated by the fact that her friends were among the most persevering in the house of lords in their persecuting bills against the unfortunate widow of James II., which the house of commons threw out as indefatigably as they were presented under new forms.⁴ The same house of commons was then employed in tearing from William III.'s favorites the enormous grants with which he had invested them. Lady Orkney (Elizabeth Villiers) entered into treaty with the friends of the princess Anne, and promised, that if she might be permitted to keep her spoil, she would, by her influence with the king,⁵ obtain the expulsion of their great

¹ Lidiard's *Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, vol. i. p. 146.

² White Kennet's *History*, January 22, 1701, vol. iii. p. 850.

³ Dangeau's *Memoirs*.

⁴ Ralph's *History*, last pages of vol. iii.

⁵ Bibl. Birch., 4224. MS. *Biographical Anecdotes*.

enemy, lord Somers. There was no need of making so dear a bargain for this lady's offices, for lord Somers was too deep in the corruptions and misgovernment relative to the infamous partnership with captain Kidd,¹ the pirate, to be able to look the public in the face as a minister of state just then.

King William seldom came to London during the winter of 1701. He felt convinced that death was at hand; yet he still mounted his horse for his favorite diversion of hunting, or rather, what we should call in the present day coursing. The following extract from an official letter of his to lord Portland, dated from Windsor, displays the keen relish he derived from the pursuit of his favorite amusement:—

“I am hunting the hare every day in the park with your dogs and mine. The rabbits are almost all killed, and their burrows will soon be stopped up. The day before yesterday I took a stag in the forest with the prince of Denmark's hounds, and had a pretty good run as far as this villanous country permits.”²

King William's epithets touching England and the English contrast somewhat forcibly with the adoration with which the political *literati* of his day affected to regard him. His abhorrence of the land he ruled was not, however, founded on moral detestation of its vilest diversions, in the worst of which he partook with relish. His own letters convict him as the desperate gambler Lamberty has described him to be; and count Tallard, the French ambassador, thus mentions some of his doings:—“On leaving the palace, king William went to the cock-fight, whither I accompanied him. He made me sit beside him.” One of the remarkable points of his correspondence is, that he uses urgent language to induce his ambassador to have his unfortunate uncle driven from France and deprived of the title of king, while all the time he calls him “king James” in his own letters.

The king came but on council-days to Kensington palace,

¹ See Shrewsbury Papers; although edited by a most partial historian, Coxe, no one can read them without indignation.

² Grimblot's Letters of William III., etc., vol. i. pp. 327-427.

and kept himself as much as possible in retirement at Hampton Court, where his time was spent superintending the digging of the ugly longitudinal canals with which he was cutting up the beautiful lime-tree glades planted by his grandsire, Charles I., in the Home park, rendering Hampton Court as like a Dutch *hof* as possible, both in aspect and atmosphere. It was in the gardens of Hampton Court that he confided to lord Portland his positive conviction that he should not survive till the end of 1701; but he charged him "not to mention it to any one, lest the war should be prevented."¹ When in London for a few hours, the king usually dined with his favorite, Keppel, at his lodgings in Whitehall, the Cockpit, where the business of government was carried on.

It is necessary to mention, as briefly as possible, the circumstance which plunged Europe into a war that was deeply connected with the future disquiet of the princess Anne. Don Carlos II., the imbecile and invalid king "of Spain and the Indies," had sunk into a premature grave, leaving no children to inherit his dominions. The lineal heir was the dauphin duke of Burgundy, the young grandson of Louis XIV., by his queen-consort the infanta of Spain, Maria Teresa. It is true that, by the marriage-treaty of this princess, she had relinquished all claims on the Spanish succession for herself and her heirs,—a renunciation treated as a mere formula by the partisans of her grandson in Spain. William III., as the generalissimo of the emperor and the confederated princes of Germany, determined to oppose this inheritance; and under the plea that Louis XIV. would become too powerful by his influence over his grandson, they formed a coalition to divide the dominions of Spain in three parts, of which England was to take one share, Austria another, and Holland a third.² Such was the precursor and precedent of the par-

¹ White Kennet's History, vol. iii. p. 826.

² This scheme was peculiarly unrighteous in regard to William III. He had been, from his youth upwards, the hired general of Spain; and now to turn and rend the vitals of the realm that had so long paid him with her treasure seemed scarcely consistent with moral justice.

tition of Poland, which was actually effected at the end of the same century.

As soon as the design of the Spanish partition was known, the English parliament strongly opposed it, expressed horror at the iniquity, and wanted to impeach the contrivers. Another plan had to be formed in order to raise effectually the tocsin of war, and this was to place Charles of Austria, the brother of the emperor, on the throne of Spain, as the next male heir. The Austrian prince was about twenty-three, while young Philip of France was a minor. Moreover, as in the present day, the northern half of Spain, the Basques, the Catalans, and Arragonese,¹ were loath to acknowledge the line of the female till every male heir failed. The allies, therefore, took advantage of internal division to foster a civil war in Spain; the north declaring for the heir-male of Ferdinand of Arragon, Charles of Austria, while the south of Spain remained loyal to the next heir of Isabel of Castile,² Philip of France. The valuable prize of the Spanish Netherlands was situated conveniently to be fought for, between the confederated armies of England and Germany and the military power of France; it had been the object of all William's battles and sieges for nearly thirty years. It was to prove the fighting-ground of Marlborough's subsequent victories. After William III.'s partition-scheme had sunk amid the execrations of all who were expected to be concerned in it, the object for which England was to be induced to enter into war seems indistinct. A rich slice of the Netherlands, howsoever dishonest the acquisition might have been, was something tangible; but to win the Netherlands for Charles of Austria, if more morally honest, was a very Quixotic excuse for man-

¹ This is according to the ancient constitution of Arragon, to which the proud Arragonese still cling.

² The truth is, that the ancient laws of Arragon and the north of Spain militate strongly against female succession, while Castile has, from the earliest times, acknowledged feminine heirship. Arragon was, as now, always in a state of revolt during the reign of Joanna (the mother of Charles V.), although her son, the most powerful mind among the royalty of Europe, reigned as regent.

slaughter by wholesale. As for the aggravation given by Louis XIV., by his acknowledgment of the son of James II. as king of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland *de jure*, it would be difficult to prove what made it a greater injury than recognizing the title of the father, which was done even at the peace of Ryswick. A real historian must repudiate with scorn the false plea of religious warfare, the alleged support of the Protestant cause against Roman Catholic cruelty, clearly because, with all his bigotry, Louis XIV. was a less culpable bigot than any prince of the Spanish-Austrian line; and the worst persecutions of Protestants in France had not, in the worst of times, equalled the common proceedings every year of the Inquisition in Spain. As there is no intention of suffocating the biography of queen Anne with her continental warfare, our readers must be contented with reference to this rapid statement of its original causes.

William III. had amused and gratified his departing spirit by laying the train for this European conflagration, which only waited the usual campaigning season to burst into a blaze. The king had (perhaps to keep him out of political mischief at home) given the earl of Marlborough the command of his military preparations in Holland, and, in case of his own death, had expressed his opinion that the talents in war of that general ought to entitle him to command the allied forces. Thus, without the least bellicose propensities on her own part, every circumstance tended to make foreign warfare and the reign of Anne commence simultaneously.

It had been well known in Europe that king William had been dangerously ill at Loo the preceding autumn of 1701, but his state of health was carefully concealed from the English public. He rode into the Home park at Hampton Court, the morning of February 21st, to look at the excavation making, under his directions, for a new canal, which was to run in another longitudinal stripe, by the side of that which now deforms the vista and injures the air of Hampton Court gardens. His majesty was mounted on sir John Fenwick's sorrel pony, when, just as he came by the

head of the two canals, opposite to the Ranger's park pales, the sorrel pony happened to tread in a mole-hill, and fell. Such is the tradition of the palace, and it must be owned, that after a careful examination of the spot, the author prefers its adoption to the usual assertion of historians, "that the king's pony stumbled when he was returning from hunting," especially when the mischievous effects of the subterranean works of moles in that soil are remembered; for an officer of rank, who resides in the vicinity, asserted that he had twice met with accidents which threatened to be dangerous, owing to his horse having plunged his forefoot to the depth of more than fifteen inches in mole-hills at Bushy park and the Home park. There, too, may be seen the half-excavated canal, which has remained without water, and in an unfinished state. None of William III.'s successors being Dutch, all taste for straight stripes of still water ceased to be fashionable with the life of the crowned Hollander. The account that the king himself gave of his accident agrees with the Hampton Court tradition. "Riding in the park at noon," he said to Dr. Bidloo, "while I was making my horse change his walk into a gallop, he fell upon his knees. Upon that I meant to raise him with the bridle, but he fell forwards to one side; so I fell with my right shoulder on the ground. 'Tis a strange thing," added his majesty, musingly, "for it happened on smooth level ground."¹

King William thus took his death-hurt within sight of the entrance of Hampton Court palace. From the first weeks of his arrival in England, he had always had plans in agitation to make that favorite seat of his royalty as different in outward semblance as possible to its aspect when, in his youth, he had visited his uncles there. He was occupied in the same object when the accident he thought so utterly unaccountable befell him. The workmen employed on the neighboring excavation raised the overthrown monarch, and assisted him to the palace. He affirmed that he was very slightly hurt; but Ronjat, his

¹ White Kennet's History, vol. iii. p. 831; and Lamberty, who likewise speaks as from the king's lips.

surgeon, who was there, found he had broken his right collar-bone. On what trifles do human plans and projects depend! What mean agency is sufficient to tumble the ambitious schemes of military pride and glory literally in the very dust! The purblind mole, that was obeying the first call of spring to repair his fortification and set his subterranean house in order, did what Louis XIV. and all his engineers never could effect: he prevented William III. from heading Europe in battle-array against France.

The angry Jacobites found more than one circumstance of exultation in this accident, which proved so fatal to William III. "The little gentleman in black velvet" became one of their party toasts, and they wrote many eulogies on the sagacity of 'Sorrel,' who had been the favorite pony of the unfortunate sir John Fenwick, and had taken an opportunity of thus revenging the illegal death of his master. Pope has followed this example in the contrast he drew between the preservation of Charles at Boscobel and the accident at Bushy:—

"Angels, who watched the guardian oak so well,
How chanced ye slept when luckless Sorrel fell?"¹

When Ronjat had set the fractured collar-bone of the king, he earnestly recommended to him rest and medical regimen. William refused to submit to any such discipline; he made light of the accident, declared the injury was nothing, that he must go to Kensington that night, and go he would, despite of all remonstrance. On the journey the jolting of the carriage displaced the fractured bones, and he was in a state of great pain and exhaustion when he arrived at his palace of Kensington. Bidloo, his household physician, received him there, and making many remonstrances regarding the wilfulness of royal patients, the injured collar-bone was reset by Ronjat, under the physician's superintendence.

The public papers announced the accident under which the king was suffering in their own peculiar manner; like-

¹ This couplet was among the passages suppressed until the editions after Pope's death. It is to be found in Dr. Knox's *Elegant Extracts*, and in Dr. Valpy's edition of Pope's Works.

wise, they record the movements of the prince and princess of Denmark during the important week while the recovery of his majesty hung in suspense. "As the king was taking the divertisement of *hunting a deer*, near Hampton town, on Saturday last¹ (21st February), his horse slipt, so that his majesty fell, and had the misfortune to *hurt* his collar-bone; after which he dined at Hampton Court, and at night came in his coach to Kensington, where he rested well that night, as he did on Sunday morning. Their royal highnesses princess Anne and George of Denmark have been to Kensington to visit his majesty, who is, *blessed be God!* in a very good state of health, and in no manner of danger from the accident.² The princess and her consort, on February 24th, paid a visit at Kensington to his majesty, who, God be thanked, is in perfect health; their highnesses went on to Windsor.³ His majesty is very well, notwithstanding the fall he got on Saturday a hunting. Yesterday (February 26th), their royal highnesses paid the king a visit, on their return from Windsor."⁴

The king sent a message to the houses of parliament (28th of February) for promoting the union with Scotland, in which he mentioned the mishap of breaking the collar-bone as "an unhappy accident;" meantime, he advised expedition in passing the bill for the attainder of young James Stuart, which had been in agitation in parliament since the preceding January. It is just possible, that when the act passed parliament, March 1st, against a child who was his nearest male relative, some agitation might take place in the mind of the invalid king, for that self-same hour he was struck with his mortal malady, which appeared in the shape of spasmodic cramp. He recovered a little by the use of stimulants, and, on the 6th of March, walked for exercise in the gallery of Kensington palace. He felt fatigued, and sat down on a couch near an open window, and fell fast asleep: he slept two hours. No one dared to disturb him, for his pages and personal attendants dreaded

¹ The Postboy, Saturday, February 21 to 24, 1701-2: Brit. Museum.

² The Flying Post, *ibid.*

³ The English Post, Monday, Feb. 23d to 25th.

⁴ Postman, Feb. 26th.

the effects of his positiveness and peevishness. Shiverings and spasms seized him when he awoke from this unhealthy slumber; he was carried to bed in great misery. Sir Richard Blackmore, the poetaster physician, attended him, but did him no good. It may be judged how little the public papers knew of his majesty's malady, or were permitted to communicate concerning it, by these passages:—"The king continues very well; but it not being advisable that his majesty should *yet* go abroad, the act for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, and the act for further punishing deserters and mutineers, received the royal assent." ¹ Notwithstanding the assertion of the public prints, the attainder of the young prince, James Stuart, had *not* received the royal ratification, for the king fell into fits whenever he attempted to sign the act,² which was finally stamped by his ministers with his initials on the Saturday afternoon, when his death was approaching.³ Utter silence was maintained in the newspapers regarding the state of William during the last days of his existence; but stocks fell every day, and from this occult bulletin the moneyed world formed accurate inferences on the subject.

All this time the king's breath became more and more oppressed,—a fatal symptom, which was soon observed by lord Jersey, the lord chamberlain of his household. This courtier immediately despatched a trusty messenger with the news to the princess Anne, at St. James's palace. Likewise, ever and anon, during the agony of king William,

¹ Postman newspaper, March 3, 1702, which contained, in the same week, the following advertisement:—"The true effigies of Georgius Augustus (and not Gulielmus Ernestus, as was by mistake mentioned in a previous Postman), prince of Hanover, grandson to the most illustrious princess Sophia, duchess-dowager, daughter to Elizabeth queen of Bohemia, sister of Charles I., declared to succeed to the crown of England, etc., by the late act for settling the succession in the Protestant line. Done from the original brought over by the earl of Macclesfield, and humbly dedicated to the lord Mohun. Sold by E. Cooper, at the Three Pidgeons, in Bedford street, price 1s. 6d." This was one of the signs of the times on the attainder of the unfortunate James Stuart. The prince represented was afterwards George II., then a boy about the same age with his cousin, the expatriated prince of Wales.

² Coxe's Walpole Papers, vol. i. p. 17.

³ See vol. xii., Life of Mary Beatrice.

did lord Jersey despatch intelligence to the expectant heir-ess that the breath of the royal patient "grew shorter every half-hour." The princess had sent, in the course of that day, to Kensington palace a dutiful message to the king, entreating permission to see him in his bedchamber. It was answered by the dying king himself, who collected his strength sufficiently to pronounce a short and rude "No!"¹ The prince of Denmark actually made many attempts to enter the king's chamber, but met with as many downright repulses. The newspapers of the day affirm that the king was kept alive all the Saturday night by the use of "sir Walter Raleigh's cordial." Lamberty, who was in the palace with his patron, lord Portland, that night, and therefore is indisputable evidence, declares "that the king was supported entirely by spirituous liquors." Sir Walter Raleigh's cordial was a strong spirituous compound.

His majesty had desired to see his old friend, Bentinck lord Portland, who, it is well known, never came to court after the period of the peace of Ryswick, excepting on a special message. This nobleman was sent for, and was momentarily expected during the Saturday evening. The king was likewise anxiously looking for the arrival of his young favorite, Keppel earl of Albemarle, from a mission on which he had sent him to Holland; he arrived just before the king lost his speech, and was in his travelling boots when he came to his majesty's bedside. The king was very desirous of saying something in confidence to Keppel. He gave him the keys of his *escritoire*, and bade him take possession, for his private use, of 20,000 guineas, —all the private property his majesty had at command. He likewise directed him to destroy all the letters that would be found in a cabinet which he named.² Keppel was extremely eager to give his royal master information of the rapid progress of his martial preparations for the commencement of war in the Low Countries, but, for the first time, the departing warrior listened to the anticipa-

¹ Ralph's History, vol. ii. p. 1623.

² Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 207. The historian considers that these papers, if preserved, would have thrown very important lights on his biography.

tions of battle with a cold dull ear. All the comment he made was comprised in these impressive words, the last he uttered distinctly :—" *Je tire vers ma fin*,"—" I draw towards my end.'

The earl of Portland entered the chamber of death early on the Sunday morning ; the king was speechless, but had not then lost memory or consciousness. He took the hand of his old friend, pressed it to his heart, and held it there while the pangs of death were dealing with him. Lamberty, the secretary of Bentinck earl of Portland, expressly declares that no English lord was admitted into the royal chamber until the king had lost all consciousness. Burnet and others give an account of the king's devout reception of the sacrament, as administered by archbishop Tension, a fact which Lamberty positively denies.

Just as the clock struck eight, William III. drew his last breath ; he expired very gently in the arms of his page, Sewel, who sat behind his pillow supporting him. The lords in waiting, the earls of Scarborough and Lexington, no sooner perceived that the spirit had departed, than they told Ronjat, the surgeon, to unbind from the wrist of the royal corpse a black ribbon, which fastened a bracelet of queen Mary's hair close on the pulse.¹ It was an outrage to tear from the arm of the breathless warrior this memorial, so long cherished and so secretly kept. If William had not through life scorned the language of poetry, his newly-separated spirit might have sympathized with the exquisite lines of that true poet, Crashaw :—

"Whoever comes to shroud me, do not harm
Or question much
The subtle wreath of hair about mine arm :
The mystery, the sign, thou must not touch."

William III. was fifty-one years, four months, and four days old when he died ; he had reigned thirteen years, three weeks, and two days. More than one prelate, with other persons of rank, were waiting, either in Kensington palace or in the environs, to carry the news of her royalty to the princess, now queen Anne.

¹ Cunningham's History of Great Britain.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER IV.

Accession of queen Anne—Bishop Burnet announces to her the death of king William—She declines an audience to her uncle Clarendon—He refuses to take the oath of allegiance—Compliments of her courtiers—Queen's first council—Visit to houses of parliament, etc.—Takes possession of Kensington palace—Negotiation with bishop Ken to crown her, and resume his prelacy—He refuses to take the oaths, or to crown her—Queen Anne proclaimed at Edinburgh queen of Scotland—Singular abnegation of the prince-consort—Queen sits to Kneller for her Windsor portrait (*see frontispiece*)—Her coronation—Queen's infirmity of lameness—Her Protestant coronation-oath, ceremonial, etc.—Anecdote of the queen and her consort—Anne declares war with France—Queen's letter for mercy to deserters—Great power of lady Marlborough as mistress of the robes, etc.—Queen's enmity to lord Brandon—The queen abolishes sale of places at court—Is alarmed at the illness of her consort—Accompanies him to Bath—Her royal reception at Oxford—Curious adventure of prince George at Bristol—He dines with John Duddlestone, the bodice-maker—Queen Anne invites John Duddlestone and his wife to Windsor castle—Queen knights John Duddlestone, and gives her gold watch to his wife—The queen's name-children.

ANXIOUS vigils had been held at St. James's palace since the last rude repulse had been given by the dying king to the visit of his heiress-expectant and her husband, when they came to see him, during his last illness, at Kensington ; agents in their interest were, however, very busy about his death-bed. Throughout the preceding Saturday night and early morning of Sunday, March 8th, the princess Anne and her favorite, Sarah of Marlborough, sat in momentary expectation of the dawn of the royalty of the one and the dictatorship of the other, receiving frequently hurried notes from lord Jersey, the king's lord chamberlain, describing "how the breath of William III. grew shorter and shorter."¹ The lady Marlborough, according to her own

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 120.

account, was seized with a qualm of horror while these half-hourly bulletins were coming in. She thus mentions the circumstance to lord Cholmondeley, who is supposed to be the person to whom the duchess addressed her "Conduct," to the exaltation of her own sensibility, and the depreciation of every one else concerned in the matter:—"And now, after all I have related of the king, and after so much dislike as I have expressed of his character and conduct, I shall be hardly believed in what I am going to say. Yes, your lordship *will* believe me, for you will judge of *my* heart by your own. When king William came to die, I felt nothing of that satisfaction which I once thought I should have had on this occasion; and my lord and lady Jersey's writing and sending perpetually to give account as his breath grew shorter, filled me with horror. I thought I would lose the best employment at court, sooner than act so odious a part."

But there was another personage who had likewise stationed himself as a watcher of the failing respiration of king William,—a volunteer in that service, who meant to run a race with Anne's chosen agents, and be the first in with the intelligence of death. He did so, and won it too, for he brought the queen the earliest tidings of her royalty. "As soon as the breath was out of king William," says lord Dartmouth, "by which event all expectations from him were forever at an end, off set Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, and drove hard to bring the first tidings of the king's demise to St. James's palace, where he prostrated himself at the new queen's feet, full of joy and duty; but he obtained no advantage over the earl of Essex [the lord of the bedchamber then in waiting, whose proper office it was to communicate the event], besides being universally laughed at for his officiousness."¹ Burnet must have received some signal scorn on this occasion from her majesty, which hurt his self-love too much to permit him to dwell on it, since he omits to record that he was the first voice that hailed Anne queen of the British empire. But the fact is undeniable, since it is told by friend as well as foe.

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. v. p. 309.

"On the queen's accession to the throne," wrote the spy Mackey, "the bishop was the first that brought her the news of king William's death; yet he was turned out of his lodgings at court, and met with several affronts."¹

Every succeeding minute of that memorable Sunday morning brought some other applicant for audience with the queen from her intimate friends or near relations. All was business and bustle; the sun was as bright and glaring as ever shone on a clear March morning; the bells called from all the steeples in London and Westminster to morning-prayer: few heeded the summons. The queen was receiving those, among the crowds of politicians besieging her presence-chamber at St. James's, whom she considered entitled to an interview at the private levee she held before the important public business began of her recognition by the privy council. Among others, her uncle, the earl of Clarendon, was seen pressing through the throngs in the antechamber that besieged the cabinet of newly-ascended majesty. The queen guessed his errand only too truly. He desired of the lord in waiting "admittance to his niece." The message was delivered to her majesty, who sent word to him, "that if he would go and qualify himself to enter her presence, she would be very

¹ Mackey's Characters, p. 140. This man, who passed the principal part of his life as a paid spy, has left a curious collection of written characters of the nobility composing the court and senate of William and Mary, and Anne. He was a particular friend of bishop Burnet, and appointed his executor, which office he fulfilled; but his own standard of moral rectitude was so low that he printed some remains of Burnet which scandalized all Christendom. Lord Dartmouth is thus described by the spy Mackey, who drew the characters of the court of queen Anne rather according to their politics than their qualifications. The characters are retouched by the remarks of Swift. Lord Dartmouth, neither being a Jacobite nor a republican, met with the approbation of neither. So much the better for our purposes, because the truth of the statements of that nobleman can be the better relied upon. "Lord Dartmouth," says Mackey, "sets up for a critic in conversation, makes jests, and loves to laugh at them; takes a deal of pains in his office, and is in a fair way of rising at court; is a short thick man, turned of thirty-four years."—"This is fair enough writ," comments Swift, "but lord Dartmouth has little sincerity." That is, he was not prepared to go all lengths to bring in the chevalier St. George as James III., on the death of Anne, as that prince remained inflexibly a Roman Catholic.

glad to see him." Her meaning was, "that if he chose to take the oath of allegiance to her, as his legitimate sovereign, she was willing to admit him." In fact, her lord in waiting demanded, "if he was willing to take the oath to queen Anne?"—"No," replied Clarendon; "I come to talk to my niece. I shall take no other oaths than I have taken."

How this uncompromising relative meant to talk to her may be judged by his conversations with her at the period of the Revolution. Queen Anne refused to see her uncle without he took the oaths whereby he recognized her as his sovereign; "and," observes our authority, Roger Coke, "that wretched man remained a nonjuror to the day of his death."¹ Queen Anne was thus obliged to begin her reign with an act of hostility to her nearest relative in England. Clarendon's errand was evidently to recall the promises the queen had made to her father after the death of her son. Her other uncle, lord Rochester, was more complying; he had been one of the state-ministers of her sister, queen Mary, and was destined by queen Anne to have the chief share in the government of her empire.

Scarcely was her uncle, lord Clarendon, excluded on account of still persisting in his nonjuring principles, when the queen's former lover, the marquess of Normanby, presented himself. With the same Jacobite affections as lord Clarendon, the marquess possessed that perfect indifference to religion which permitted him to take as many contradictory oaths as were, in the seventeenth century, considered needful for the public weal. When this elegant courtier had made his homage to the new sovereign, her majesty, who was a person of very few words, and of still fewer ideas, had recourse to her usual theme² of conversation, by remarking, "that it was a very fine day." "Your majesty must allow me to declare that it is the finest day I ever saw in my life!"—a speech which obtained for him from the court the laudations due to a *bon-mot*, as well as to a neatly-turned compliment, in which happy

¹ Detection, by Roger Coke, vol. iii. p. 330.

² Swift's Journal to Stella.

allusion was made to the beautiful weather. In fact, superstition is never more active than in remarks relative to the serenity or tempestuousness of the air, at a period when any remarkable event happens: there are few of the annalists of the reign of Anne that did not comment on the bright day of her accession, on the glorious shining forth of the sun, and predict a happy reign from the pleasantness of the weather. The contrast was the greater from the long years of inclemency which had marked the reign of William and Mary, and had continued during the solitary reign of the former, adding famine to the evils of his interminable wars.

Another early courtier at this royal levee was lord Dartmouth, who affected no grimace of sorrow for the decease of the queen's predecessor. He had not forgotten nor forgiven the death of his father in the grim fortress of the Tower, where he had been immured on the mere warrant of queen Mary, who suspected him of attachment to his old admiral, her deposed father, although he had given greater proof of his love to his religion and country by surrendering the fleet without bloodshed when the English nation declared against James II. Lord Dartmouth, the son, was certainly not a partisan of James, for he has not spared him, although he exposed the falsehoods told by his enemies. He recognized queen Anne as constitutional sovereign, by telling her "his joy at her accession was indeed without the least alloy." The queen replied, "that she did sincerely believe him."¹ All these visits to royalty took place while the privy council was collecting, in which the new queen was solemnly recognized, and at which she presided, about noon the same day, her majesty being dressed in deep mourning for the demise of her father, James II.

The members of both houses of parliament met that morning, although it was Sunday, and Mr. secretary Vernon notified the death of William III. to the house of commons. Mr. Granville rose, after the secretary had finished his announcement, and commenced what Anne's opponents

¹ Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. v. p. 11.

called a tory gratulation, beginning with, "Sir, we have lost a great king, and we have got a most gracious queen."¹ When all the speeches proper for the occasion were spoken, the houses of lords and commons went up with addresses of congratulation to the queen on her accession.²

Anne received these august assemblies with much grace and dignity, and her greatest accomplishment was displayed in the answers she gave. As constitutional queen, of course, the matter she spoke was in the words of her ministers; her manner and tone of voice were her own. The sweetness of her voice in utterance had, when a girl, so much pleased her uncle, Charles II., that he ordered Mrs. Betterton, the famous actress, to teach her to speak; "which had been done," says lord Dartmouth, "with such success, that even on this occasion it was a real pleasure to hear her, though she had a bashfulness that made it very uneasy to herself to say much in public."—"I have heard the queen speak from the throne," observes speaker Onslow (long after she had passed away, therefore the commendation could not be flattery), "and she had all that bishop Burnet and others have noticed of the sweetness of her voice and manner. I never saw an audience more affected: it was a sort of charm."³ There was no little tact in king Charles's directions to have the sweet voice of the princess, his niece, cultivated for the science of elocution rather than for song, since a royal personage sways more hearts by speaking than by singing.

Notwithstanding the multifarious employments and agitations of that memorable Sunday of her accession, the queen attended divine service at St. James's chapel, and heard a long sermon preached by Burnet.⁴ Her majesty was, in the afternoon, proclaimed before the gates of St. James's palace, at Temple bar, and in Cheapside.⁵

The day of the queen's accession would have been one of

¹ Speaker Onslow's Notes on Burnet's Own Times, vol. v. p. 2.

² According to the Postboy newspaper (Brit. Museum), these addresses were offered the evening of Anne's accession.

³ Speaker Onslow's Notes to Burnet's Own Times, vol. v. p. 2.

⁴ Gazette.

⁵ Ibid.

great trial to a woman of a more sensitive nature, for she had to retire to the suite of apartments once occupied by her son, the young duke of Gloucester, at St. James's palace, while her private apartments were hung with black, as decent mourning for king William. A general mourning was ordered by her privy council for the recently deceased king.¹ To mark the difference between the black she wore for her parent, and the court-mourning she assumed for her brother-in-law, the queen chose to mourn for her predecessor in purple;² and she accordingly assumed a dress of that hue on the day after his decease.

The queen went in solemn state to the house of lords March 11th; she was attended in her coach by the countess of Marlborough and two other ladies. Her majesty wore a star on her breast, and seated herself on the throne in her royal robes; it is said, by the prints of the day, that she wore the crown of St. Edward on her head, but this was a mistake.³ The commons were sent for, and the queen addressed them in that sweet, thrilling voice which has before been described. Her speech being the composition of her ministers, there is no occasion to load her personal life with the whole substance. The only remarkable points in it were, that it slid dexterously past all mention of her brother, and earnestly recommended the attainment of union between England and Scotland. She concluded with these words:—"As I know my own heart to be entirely English, I can very sincerely assure you there is not anything you can expect or desire from me which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England, and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."⁴

There is, in the corridor gallery at Windsor castle, a picture of queen Anne opening her first parliament. Lady Marlborough stands nearly behind her majesty, and the great officers of state are, as now, ranged round the throne; but it does not appear that the custom had begun of admit-

¹ Roger Coke's Detection, vol. iii.

² Ibid., and London Gazette and Postboy.

³ Postboy, March 12, 1701-2.

⁴ Ibid.

ting ladies into the body of the house to view the pageant, —at least, none appear to grace the scene. Her majesty returned in her coach, accompanied by his royal highness prince George, to her palace of St. James; the sword was carried before her by the earl of Marlborough. The queen, out of respect to the memory of her predecessor and the season of Lent, ordered the theatres to be shut till after her coronation.¹ It was not until March 14th that an order was issued by council to change the royal names in the Prayer-book, and instead of “our sovereign lord king William,” to insert “our sovereign lady queen Anne.” Scotland was still a separate kingdom. Anne was proclaimed queen of Scotland by the lord Lyon, king-at-arms, as Anne I.

The queen retired to Windsor² while St. James's palace was completely hung with black.³ She announced her coronation for April 23d, the anniversary of that of her unfortunate father; commanding, at the same time, “that the very deep mourning was to cease after that ceremony.”⁴ “For the encouragement of our English silks, called *à-la-modes*,” says a periodical of the day, “his royal highness the prince of Denmark and the nobility appear in mourning hat-bands made of that silk, to bring the same in fashion in the place of crapes, which are made in the pope's country whither we send our money for them.”⁵ Before the first week of queen Anne's reign had expired, her majesty took the opportunity of fulfilling her oft-baffled intention of causing the earl of Marlborough to be elected a knight of the Garter. The commons voted her majesty the same revenue that had been granted “to king William, of blessed memory;” and the speaker and the members of the house of commons took the oath to her, repudiating the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, for the security of her majesty's person, and that of the crown in the Protestant line. The queen went to the house of lords March 30th, with the usual ceremonies, and gave her assent to the bills for her

¹ Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, 1702.

² Postboy.

³ Ibid.

⁴ London Post.

⁵ The Postman, March 19, 1701-2.

household, revenue, and coin. In her speech, she relinquished 100,000*l.* of the income granted to her.¹

The queen and prince George of Denmark took immediate possession of the royal apartments at Kensington.² The body of king William had been, in the mean time, privately removed from that palace, where he breathed his last, to 'the prince's chamber' at Westminster, where it was embalmed and laid in state. The measure was murmured at by the household of William; there certainly was something repugnant to delicacy in the proceeding. The room where the king died was, however, left just in the same state as when he expired, for many years of the eighteenth century. All the Dutch colony at Kensington palace were in a state of high discontent, almost amounting to mutiny; they were excessively displeased at everything done in regard to their king's remains, in which bishop Burnet entirely concurred. Although, in his history, he threw disgusting scandals and reproaches on the character of the royal defunct, he, too, vented his discontent at the accession of Anne by grumbling at William III.'s funeral: in his usual phrase, "'twas scarce decent." Perhaps the ire of the departed monarch, could he have expressed an opinion on his own obsequies, would have been chiefly excited at the fact that his despised and detested kinsman, George of Denmark, thought proper to officiate as chief mourner,—from which office, although his right, he had been sedulously debarred by king William at the funeral of queen Mary. Great debates had previously taken place in the privy council, whether the late king should be publicly or privately buried: the latter was decided on. The burial took place on Sunday, April 12th, at midnight. The procession began from Kensington, as if the royal corpse had actually been there; the funeral train followed an open chariot, with the wax effigy (still in Westminster abbey) seated as if over the coffin. The king's corpse, contained within the inner coffin, was introduced when the mourners arrived at Westminster palace. The pall was borne by six

¹ Boyer's *Annals of Queen Anne*, 1702.

² *Pyne's Palaces (Kensington)*.

dukes: his royal highness George of Denmark was chief mourner, supported by two dukes. The body was deposited in Henry VII.'s chapel while the service was performed, and afterwards interred in the same vault with his late consort, queen Mary II., near the coffin of their uncle, Charles II.¹

Queen Anne, when the great officers of her predecessor's household brought their white sticks to surrender to her, returned them very courteously, requesting them to hold office, at least for the present; but she took lord Wharton's white staff of the household from him, and handed it to sir Edward Seymour before his face,²—a marked affront, which incensed Wharton into muttering some threats of vengeance, which he had opportunities of realizing at various times during her reign. The queen, two days afterwards, appointed the duke of Devonshire her lord steward of the household, an office he had held in her sister's reign; the earl of Jersey, lord chamberlain; sir Edward Seymour, comptroller; and Peregrine Bertie, vice-chamberlain of her household. To her consort she gave the high office of generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land. Her majesty did not forget her old grudge to Bentinck earl of Portland. By the instigation of Sarah of Marlborough, who instantly stepped into his place, she expelled him from his appointment as keeper of her park at Windsor. Among the palace-appointments which took place at this period, great interest was made with the queen by lord Godolphin, "that she would be pleased to reinstate Dr. Radcliffe as her physician;" but her majesty manifested lively remembrance of his former delinquencies by replying, "No; Radcliffe shall never send me word again, when I am ill, that my ailments are only vapors." Her ministers, nevertheless, often had Radcliffe privily consulted respecting the health of their royal mistress, and for his prescriptions they paid, without her knowledge, vast sums.³

It may be very well believed, from the specimens printed

¹ Life of King William III.

² Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 259.

³ Bio. Brit.

in the course of these biographies, that when the contents of the king's letter-box, left by him at Kensington, were looked into, strange rumors arose throughout the empire, raised by those who read the royal correspondence. Among other stories, one gained ground so far, that the prosperous accession of her majesty was made the subject of congratulation in various addresses, because a plan of William III.'s for her exclusion had been discovered. Perhaps this report was founded on the proffered adoption of the prince of Wales by William III. at the peace of Ryswick; it was, however, generally supposed that an invitation for the electress of Hanover and her son to take direct possession of the throne at his death was meant. Dr. Drake was called before the house of lords, to answer "for having written a pamphlet defending the right of the queen to the crown, as if the late king had endeavored to deprive her of it; such assertion being a libel on his memory." Dr. Drake, on being questioned "why he wrote the book?" replied, "He considered that he had just reason to write what he had written, since he heard her highness talked of disrespectfully in every coffee-house." The lords declared that the report of the intended exclusion was false and groundless, and that her majesty's attorney-general should forthwith prosecute Dr. Drake for writing a certain paragraph in the pamphlet.¹

It was not the intention of the Jacobite party to wear mourning for William III., but they were already, as well as the queen, in the deepest weeds of sable for the death of James II. Those among the whigs who had hitherto flaunted in the gayest colors now followed the lord chamberlain's mandate, and assumed mourning for William III. as if for a father; black, therefore, was the universal hue, the mourning either for a king or queen in England being, until the present century, worn for a whole year, as if for a parent. Some Jacobite poet, angry at the general garb of woe, directly after the funeral of the whig king wrote the following address to the mourners, which being transcribed, various copies were found scattered in the streets

¹ Boyer's Annals, 1702. Dr. Drake died soon after this threat.

a few days after Anne's accession. It presents a picture of the state of the times, but not charged to the utmost, for scarcely half of William's imposts¹ are mentioned, not even the cruel taxes on burials, wills, and property at death,—infictions which were imported from Holland, and which, it is said, give the government nearly one quarter of the property of every defunct who has aught to leave:—

“In sable weeds your beaux and belles appear,
And cloud the coming beauties of the year.
Mourn on, ye foolish fashionable things,
Mourn for your own misfortunes, not the king's;
Mourn for the mighty mass of coin misspent,—
Most prodigally given, and idly spent;
Mourn for your tapestry, and your statutes too,
*Our Windsor gutted to adorn his Loo.*²
Mourn for the mitre long from Scotland gone,
And much more mourn your Union coming on.
Mourn for a ten years' war and dismal weather,
And taxes, strung like necklaces together,
On salt, *malt*, paper, cyder, *lights*,³ and leather.
Much for the civil list need not be said,
They truly mourn who are fifteen months unpaid.
Well, then, my friends, since things you see are so,
Let's e'en mourn on; 'twould lessen much our woe,
Had Sorrel stumbled thirteen years ago!
Your sea has oft run purple to the shore,
And Flanders been manured with English gore.”

¹ Among the other more familiar taxes of this era, the parliament of king William, in 1696, laid the following extraordinary property-tax on all conditions of the people:—"They taxed all possessors of property according to the true value of their real and personal estates, their stock in trade or upon land, and their income upon offices and professions. But the most singular part of this cruel impost was a duty of one penny per week paid by all persons *not receiving alms*; likewise *one farthing per week in the pound of all servants receiving wages amounting to 4l. per annum*. Those who received from 8l. to 16l. paid one halfpenny in the pound per week."—Smollett's History of England, vol. ix. p. 299.

² It is a corroborating incident, that the histories of Framlingham castle preserve the fact that its beautiful tapestry, once belonging to the duke of Norfolk, condemned to death by Henry VIII., was seized for the use of Edward VI., and after remaining in one of the royal residences till this reign, was carried off by William III. for the adornment of Loo. Other antiquities of furniture and ornament, in which the ancient apartments of Windsor castle are so strangely deficient, were abstracted by the same king for the same purpose, and may be found at his Dutch pleasure-palace.

³ William III.'s window-taxes,—usually supposed to have been invented by Pitt.

The muster-roll of wits and poets who were to combine for the support of the whig junta was described in an anonymous satirical poem of Parnell. These political lampoons were the oracles of that day, and filled the places of the "leading article" in the modern newspapers, and the political sermons of the preceding century. The subsequent retirement from the ministry of the queen's uncle, lord Rochester, is predicted by Parnell, who describes the whig oligarchy as mustering their forces on the night of the death of William. After sketching Sunderland under the name of Cethego, he makes Montague, lord Halifax, boast of his literary influence in a speech, which marks the position of most of the authors of Anne's reign at the commencement:—

"Congreve, for me, Pastora's death did mourn,
And her white name with sable verse adorn."

This was a mawkish elegy, which Congreve wrote on the death of Mary II., whom he panegyricized under the affected name of Pastora. Authors of coarse worldly comedies are poor hands at elegies.

"Rowe, too, is mine; and of the whiggish train,
'Twas he that sang immortal Tamerlane."

This is Rowe, the author of *Jane Shore*, and the *Fair Penitent*. Immortal 'Tamerlane,' in whom the revolutionists affected to recognize William III., is a ranting tragedy long defunct.

"I helped to polish Garth's rough awkward lays,
Taught him in tuneful lines to sound our party's praise."

Samuel Garth was a political physician, who was more renowned for poems than pills: his name is still in the public memory, although his poems are utterly forgotten.¹ He was personally abusive to queen Anne during the whole of her reign.

¹ Garth has far better claims to immortality than his verses could give. He was the first physician of his age who suggested the idea of dispensaries, where advice was given gratis to the poor. He may be considered the founder of those benevolent institutions, at least in *modern* times. His poem of *The Dispensary* was a satire on the interested quacks and apothecaries who opposed the charity.

"Walsh votes for us, who, though he never writ,
Yet passes for a poet and a wit."

The memory of Walsh chiefly survives in Pope's and Swift's letters: he was a member of parliament, with literary tastes.

"Van's vulgar plotless plays were once my boast,
But now the poet's in the builder lost."

Vanbrugh is here indicated, the author of the *Provoked Husband*, and the architect of *Blenheim*.

"On Addison we safely may depend,
A pension never fails to gain a friend;
Through Alpine hills he shall my name resound,
And make his patron known in classic ground."

Addison was then making a classic tour, being enabled to travel by a pension allowed him by Halifax. His publication on that tour is one of his earliest works. He afterwards returned the obligation, by supporting, with his own pen and that of his ally, Steele, the ministry that had patronized him. Steele is not named in this list, which is surprising, since he was the most headlong of their party-writers.

Parnell proceeds to versify some expressions of Halifax on the power of literary aid:—

"Princes but sit unsettled on their thrones,
Unless supported by Apollo's sons.
Happy Augustus had the Mantuan muse,
And happier Nassau had his Montague's;
But Anna, that ill-fated tory queen,
Shall feel the vengeance of the poet's pen."

No one among the list, however, personally attacked the queen but Garth, who alluded, in no measured phrases, to her supposed propensity of imbibing more than did her good. Parnell himself concludes this singular poem with an elegant tribute to the memory of the lately lost son of the queen, whom he terms the Marcellus of the English nation. He speaks highly of the queen's uncle, lord Rochester, and truly foretells that the queen's favorite, lady Marlborough, will dispossess him of all power.

"I foresee his fate,
To be supplanted by Sempronia's hate
(Sempronia, of a false procuring race,¹
The senate's grievance and the court's disgrace)."

Such was the first attack on lady Marlborough in the reign of queen Anne. The unmeasured hatred of this person to the family of Clarendon, especially to lord Rochester, was, for a long time, the leading principle of her life. The queen's natural affection towards her uncle produced the first disputes between her and Sarah of Marlborough, who, strong in her alliance with the house of Sunderland, scarcely condescended to acknowledge herself to be the favorite of queen Anne; but hinted that the queen was a very humble-minded person, exceedingly obliged to her. The career of lord Sunderland was, at the accession of Anne, nearly at its end. All his dark schemes had succeeded, and the unbounded power of the triumphant oligarchy was before him. The last turn of fortune's wheel had brought him to the top, but life is too short to work the complex machinery which it had been the employment of this statesman's subtle brain to devise. Just as all lord Sunderland's contrivances were perfected, he was forced to be occupied with nothing but infirmity, conscience, and death.

Queen Anne had scarcely ascended the throne, when, influenced, as it is supposed, by her uncle, Rochester, she manifested anxiety to effect a reconciliation with the venerable bishop Ken, who was considered the head of the true church of England. She sent a nobleman, his personal friend, who held a high place in her confidence, to seek the deprived bishop, to inform him that the conforming dissenter, Kidder, whom her sister had placed in his bishopric, should be removed from his intrusion into the see of Bath and Wells, if he, Dr. Ken, would swear allegiance to her, and resume his prelate state and revenues. The queen is said to have added, "that it was her intention, if possible,

¹ This is another allusion to some mysterious blot on the lineage of the duchess of Marlborough.

to place him in the primacy of England." It is asserted that her majesty wished to be crowned by his hands. By some means her ministry had induced Kidder to accept the bishopric of Carlisle, then vacant, and to surrender Bath and Wells to its rightful occupant.

Surely the primitive Christian church never saw mitres and primacies, the consecration of crowns and the benediction of sceptres, placed at the disposal of a poorer man. The deprived bishop, being beloved by his people, had been required to perform all the spiritual duties of the see. Dr. Kidder, to whom the temporalities of bishop Ken had been given by William and Mary at the commencement of his career, having long officiated as a dissenting preacher,¹ and being reported still to hold the Socinian doctrines fashionable at the Dutch court, was equally distasteful to the true church-of-England prelate and his diocese. At the earnest call of his clergy and people, Ken struggled with his poverty and infirmities to perform the office of bishop of Bath and Wells. Well was his only coat, patched and thin as it was, known, when he went on his progresses from Salisbury through Somersetshire, riding slowly on his old white horse, almost as poor and infirm as its master. Thus would the bishop go forth to the confirmations or ordinations where his presence was entreated by his loving flock.

Since his degradation by queen Mary, this inspired poet and blameless prelate of our church, when driven by her from the palace of Wells, had continued to live on the charity of his nephew, the Rev. Isaac Walton, in Salisbury close. Such was his winter retreat; but part of the summer he usually spent at Longleat, with his friend lord Weymouth, a nobleman who had always refused to visit the court of William and Mary, but, with the duke of Beaufort and several other nobles attached to James II., had hastened to London to greet the accession of queen Anne. It was through the agency of lord Weymouth that her majesty opened the negotiation for her recognition by bishop

¹See biography of bishop Ken, in the *Biographia Brit.* Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Seven Bishops of the Tower* (Bell and Daldy, 186, Fleet street).

Ken. It has been stated that Dr. Ken suffered this negotiation to go on until he came to take the oath to queen Anne, and then refused (having all along intended refusal), in order to make his renunciation of the queen's authority more striking to the world.¹ But the deliberate acting of such a farce was utterly inconsistent with the character and conduct of a man who lived meekly on charity, because he *would not* receive the rich revenues of Bath and Wells inconsistently with the oath he had taken on his induction to his dignity. His refusal would have created sufficient sensation at any period, without having recourse to a theatrical renunciation. It is undeniable that he was willing, for the promotion of the peace and unity of his see, to take the simple oath of allegiance to Anne as queen of Great Britain. The man who had resisted threats of personal violence from William III. when prince of Orange, had endured incarceration in the Tower from James II. (because he would not fulfil his despotic commands regarding the *illegal* abolition of the test and penal laws), and was finally hurled from his bishopric by Mary II. because he would not falsify his oath to her father, would doubtless have scrupulously fulfilled any oath he could have conscientiously taken to queen Anne. The present crisis permitted him to do so consistently, since his old master, James II., was just dead. The oath of allegiance to queen Anne was, however, preceded by an oath of abjuration of her young brother, which, as it implied the shameless falsehood regarding his birth, bishop Ken refused to take. Here is a strong instance of the folly and wickedness of oaths of test and abjuration; they form insurmountable barriers which keep conscientious persons from serving their country, at the same time they admit to office, with frightful facility, all those to whom every denomination of religion is equally indifferent.

When bishop Ken had refused this oath, he was by no means certain that he had not incurred the penalties of

¹ Kennet's History charges bishop Ken, most unjustly, with this piece of political diplomacy. Bishop Ken likewise has the honor of Dr. Burnet's unqualified abuse.

Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough

*After the Painting by Sir Peter Lely in the Collection
of the Duke of Marlborough*

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præmunire, for he wrote to bishop Lloyd¹ to ask him "whether that oath was to be enforced?" for, pursued the venerable prelate, "I will rather leave the kingdom, old, sick, and infirm as I am." No evil consequences of the kind followed his refusal. About the same time many of the clergy, who had disowned William III. as head of the church, from his known antipathy to its doctrines and practice, became willing liegemen to queen Anne, and accepted ecclesiastical dignities from her. The queen, early in her reign, once more caused a confidential friend, one of her bishops, to write to Dr. Ken, telling him "that his advice and presence were necessary to them all in London, at the delicate conjunction of affairs which had taken place on the death of king William." The answer of Ken was as follows:—"A journey to London is neither consistent with my health, purse, nor inclination. I have often been offered money, but have refused equally that and the oaths required. There is a way to heal the unhappy schism in the church, but it is needless for me to mention it."²

Thus was queen Anne disappointed in her wish of being consecrated by Dr. Ken, likewise in all her attempts at familiar communication with him. It is singular that neither he nor his supplanter in the bishopric of Bath and Wells appeared at the coronation, to perform the offices therein pertaining to that prelacy. Dr. Ken was permitted by the queen to withdraw himself once more into his poverty, and pursue his usual routine of life, unscathed by any political persecution for refusing the oath of abjuration. Instead of prosecuting him, she had the generosity to offer him the sums he alluded to, which he pertinaciously refused while the man whose religious principles he deprecated held his see, and he persisted in signing himself as the bishop thereof.

The approaching coronation of queen Anne now absorbed

¹ Palin's History of the Church of England, from 1688 to 1717, gives many interesting particulars of Ken at this period, to which we refer the reader for further information.

² Life of bishop Ken, by Agnes Strickland. Seven Bishops, etc.

every thought of the public. It was one of the most singular features of the times, that, contrary to every precedent in British history, the consort of the queen was excluded from all participation in her regal dignity. Whether this exclusion emanated from the queen, from the parliament, or from the wishes of prince George of Denmark himself, has never been clearly analyzed; but popular opinion leads to the conclusion that the prince himself declined sharing in the honors of regality. It has been surmised that England having suffered most severely under the sway of Philip II., who during the illness of his regnant partner introduced the Spanish inquisition, had determined the people never to admit the sway of any king-consort. There is semblance of historical truth in this suggestion, yet it is contradicted by the fact that the immediate precedent of William and Mary presented an example of usurpation of the king-consort, not only on the lineal rights of the nearest Protestant heir, his queen, but on those of her sister Anne. The fact is undeniable, that the English never for an instant contemplated that consorts of their queens-regnant should hold rank no higher than that of prince George of Denmark. It was considered that royal children would not pay their father the natural duty of a parent unless he retained not only the name, but the power of a king. Thus Henry VII. reigned peacefully many years after the death of his wife, the heiress of the English throne, and William III., childless as he was, followed his example. The law by which prince George of Denmark was excluded from ascending the British throne has hitherto eluded our search, and it seems passing strange that a lawless precedent should be followed. However this may be, prince George of Denmark was only reckoned among the first of British peers, as duke of Cumberland, and he actually did homage to his wife as such; for at the coronation of William and Mary, prince George had been naturalized, and created baron Wokingham, earl of Kendal, and duke of Cumberland, with precedence before all other peers. After the violent disputes between the princess Anne and queen Mary, George of Denmark became a

leader of opposition in the house of peers: he advocated a bill brought into parliament to exclude all persons enjoying places of trust and profit from being members of the senate, for, in 1692, such numbers of military and naval commanders were members of the house of commons, that it was called "the officers' parliament." This bill was thrown out by a majority of only two on the third reading; but protests were entered on the journals of the house, headed by the name of prince George. He used to make speeches, but in the drollest English that it was possible to imagine. Being a Lutheran, he was generally on the side of the dissenters in the reign of his consort, who is supposed to have been materially influenced by him.

Envoys and ambassadors-extraordinary arrived daily at the court of queen Anne, in the months of March and April, to condole with her on the death of her brother-in-law, and to congratulate her on her accession to the crown. They came from Zell and Hanover, from Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and most of the German states. The etiquette of their introduction was,—first, a private audience of her majesty; then a private presentation to prince George; after which they had their public reception at court.¹ In this manner count Wratislaw, envoy-extraordinary from the emperor of Germany, delivered his imperial master's condolences on the death of William, and then congratulations for queen Anne's happy accession. It has been explained that war was ready to break out between Great Britain and France, for the ostensible motive of expelling Philip V., the young grandson of Louis XIV., from the throne of Spain (of which he had actually taken peaceable possession), and replacing him by Charles of Austria, the son of the emperor. In fact, lord Marlborough, the commander-in-chief, commenced his Flemish campaign April 16th, some days before her majesty's coronation. The Polish ambassador brought his congratulations in his monarch's name to the queen the day before her coronation. He made her a very grand harangue in Latin, but he might as well have uttered it in his native Slavonic tongue: it

¹ Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, 1702.

would have been equally intelligible to the newly-ascended majesty of Great Britain.

Meantime, the public press disseminated the following reports concerning the preparations for the coronation:—

“We hear that the queen had lately her picture drawn by sir Godfrey Kneller, in order to grave an impress by her for the coronation-medals and coin. And ’tis said, on the reverse of the medals is to be represented the goddess Pallas destroying a giant, but we are not sure that the same is actually agreed upon.”¹

It was at this period that the queen sat to Kneller for a portrait, an engraving from which is appended to this volume; the total absence of all ornament, excepting the simple medallion of the order of St. George, suspended by a broad, light-blue ribbon round the neck, makes it remarkable, for the portraits of Anne, after her coronation, are rather vulgarly laden with crown, sceptre, necklaces, and heavy decorations. The original is inserted into the panels of the gallery of St. George at Windsor castle; it is a fine and firmly-painted specimen of Kneller's pencil. As the designs for the queen's medallion portraits were then executed, her costume partakes of the classic simplicity of numismatic art; her hair is arranged in the style of her well-known coinage profile. The portrait is sitting; the air and attitude are decidedly majestic, if not graceful; the dress is chiefly concealed by the flowing mantle of the order of the Garter, excepting the star on the side. The queen's features are rather stronger than those generally recognized in the soft and comely visage of Anne, while they are indicative of far more natural energy, personal courage, and practical abilities. The medallion of St. George is partly concealed by the hand of the queen. It is traditionary that Kneller persuaded the queen to assume this attitude, in order to give him an opportunity of painting the most beautiful hand in England; and assuredly the hand in her Windsor portrait is a study worthy of any artist, both for the easy manner in which it rests on the medallion, and for its own elegance of form and pictorial finish. Anne's Kensington portrait is drawn in the same

¹ Postman, April 4, 1702.

noble and simple style of art ; but her hand is not raised, and the medallion of St. George is consequently entirely visible. In Anne's subsequent portraits her vast profusion of chestnut hair is arranged in heavy falling curls on her shoulders and breast ; the state crown surmounts it ; the jewelled collar of the Garter supersedes the broad azure ribbon of the elder Garter order. There is, withal, an outspread of finery peculiarly unbecoming to a very fat woman.

The public prints resume their journalizing of the queen's movements as follows :—

“The queen took the divertisement of hunting on Wednesday, April 11th, about Windsor, and returned on Thursday to her royal palace at St. James's.” This hunting was performed in her high-wheeled chaise.¹

“We hear there is struck to the value of 1200*l.* or more in coronation-medals of 50*s.* apiece, to be distributed in Westminster hall among those of quality.”

The queen had again lost the use of her feet, from gout and corpulence, an infirmity which made the important ceremonial of her coronation very fatiguing, and even embarrassing to her. On this account she was carried in some of the processions in a low arm-chair,² instead of walking. The coronation took place April 23, O. S., 1702, St. George's day, being the seventeenth anniversary of that of her father. About eleven of the clock in the morning, her majesty came privately in a sedan-chair from her palace at St. James's to Westminster hall,³ whence she was carried to the court of wards, where she reposed herself while the heralds set the preparations in order in the court of requests, the painted chamber, and the house of lords, marshalling the several classes of the nobility as they were to proceed down the hall. As usual, the individuals of the lowest rank led the way in the commencement of the ceremonial. Prince George of Denmark, preceded in the entrance procession by the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord keeper of the great seal, walked before his royal consort and her group of state attendants. These were Garter

¹ Postboy, No. 1077.

² Flying Post, No. 1086.

³ Planche's Royal Records, edited from Bankes's Collection, Brit. Museum ; likewise from MSS. in the college of Arms, ably collated by Mr. Planche.

king-at-arms, between the lord mayor and the black rod; then the high-steward of England; then the queen's majesty, with a circle of gold, set with diamonds, on her head, her train borne by the duchess of Somerset, assisted by four young ladies of the bedchamber and the lord chamberlain, entered Westminster hall in procession. The queen, after her first robing, seated herself under the canopy on the side of the table, where was provided her chair of state, cushion, and footstool, and a long table covered with rich tapestry. On this table was placed the regalia. The great officers, being the earl-marshal (lord Carlisle), the lord high-steward (the duke of Devonshire), and the lord high-constable, stood ready there, at the command of her majesty, to distribute to its appointed bearers the various pieces which were placed thereon by the master of the jewel-house.

The procession went through New Palace yard into King street, so along the Broad Sanctuary,¹ into the west door of the abbey-church, all the way being covered from the steps of the throne at the King's bench, Westminster hall, to the steps of the royal platform in the church, with broad blue cloth two breadths in width, spread upon boards railed in on each side. This footway for royalty was, as usual, strewn with sweet herbs and flowers; the month was April, and the day of St. George is usually most redolent of the early glories of spring. Formerly the poor commonalty used to break in, and cut away "the rayed cloth" almost as fast as the steps of the sovereign had passed over it, for it was considered the fee of the populace. But now blue cloth took the place of the striped or rayed cloth, and royalty *lined the way with guards*. Strange it was, that when the prerogative of crown and church were many degrees higher, the populace of England surrounded their monarchs without an idea of harming them.

Queen Anne, like her father and her uncle, retained the title of sovereign of France. As part of the pageantry, she

¹ Edward the Confessor's Sanctuary was then standing, according to the account of Dr. Stukeley; likewise the Holbein gate-way by the Banqueting-house, and the Gate-house at the end of King street.

likewise retained at her coronation two gentlemen, dressed to represent the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. This antique custom has been omitted in the latter coronations, with some wrong in regard to the dukedom of Normandy at least, since our queen still enjoys a very goodly inheritance in the beautiful Channel islands as rightful duchess of Normandy, more especially as the high-spirited descendants of the Norman chivalry, inhabitants of the said islands, consider that England, and all its people and dependencies, appertain to them, and not they to us. When the representatives of Normandy and Aquitaine (who, we are concerned to report, bore the homespun names of James Clark and Jonathan Andrews¹) were called by the heralds to take their places, they stood at the foot of the steps leading up to the queen's canopy, in Westminster hall, but did not go up nearer to her throne.

It is certain that, on account of the queen's infirmities of the feet, she was relieved from the fatigue of walking in the procession from Westminster hall to the abbey. "She took the conveniency of being carried in an open chair,"² says a contemporary, "along by the Broad Sanctuary, the houses on each side being crowded with spectators, who rent the air with cries of joy when they beheld their queen." Whether her majesty alighted from her chair on entering the abbey, and took her place in the procession as it proceeded up the choir, or was carried to the foot of the platform, is not mentioned. The queen, whether she walked or was carried, had nevertheless a long train,³ which was borne, according to ancient custom, by the peeress of the highest rank among the female aristocracy of England. The lady who was entitled to perform this office, on this occasion, was the personal friend of her majesty, the heiress of the illustrious house of Percy, and wife to the representative of lady Katharine

¹ They were two gentlemen of the privy-chamber.

² Boyer's *Annals of Queen Anne*, April, 1702.

³ It must have been passed over the low back of the chair in which she sat, and so borne behind her by the duchess of Somerset, and the noble maidens her assistants.

Gray, called the proud duke of Somerset, who took his place as the nearest relative of the blood-royal then in the country. Lady Elizabeth Seymour aided her mother in the office of train-bearer, with lady Mary Hyde (one of the queen's first cousins) and lady Mary Pierrepont, then a girl of thirteen, only remarkable for the promise of surpassing grace and beauty, but afterwards still more celebrated as the first among the female *literati* of her country, under the name of lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Even if the queen went in her chair up the choir, it need not excite surprise that her train was borne; for, at royal christenings, the baby, although carried in another person's arms, always had a long train, with train-bearers. The queen was escorted by the lord chamberlain, lord Jersey; she was supported by the bishop of Durham and the bishop of Exeter, and guarded by the late king's favorite, Arnold Keppel, earl of Albemarle, who was still retained as captain of the royal guard. He was the only person of king William's Dutch colony who had ever shown any civility to queen Anne, who did not now forget his courtesy and humanity.

The mere ceremonial of the coronation proceeded, in all respects, according to the ancient precedents, which have been too often detailed in the course of this series of royal biographies to need repetition, our plan being only to enter into narration where accidental or personal circumstances occasioned an alteration. The recognition was performed in the old accustomed manner, the queen rising and standing by her chair while Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, presented her to the people with these words, turning her and himself to the four sides of the platform, east, west, south, and north, and repeating the query each time:—

“Sirs, I here present unto you queen Anne, undoubted queen of this realm. Whereas all you that are come this day to do your homages and service, are you willing to do the same?”¹

The people answered with loud and repeated acclamations, all crying out, with one voice, “God save queen Anne!”

¹ Planche's Regal Records, p. 113.

The trumpets sounded after the conclusion of the recognition, and the choir burst into this anthem:—"The queen shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord! exceeding glad shall she be of thy salvation. Thou shalt present her with the blessings of goodness, and shalt set a crown of pure gold on her head."

While the anthem was being sung, the archbishop went down from the platform, and put on his splendid cope before the altar, the bishops vested themselves, and the officers of the wardrobe spread the carpet and cushions on the floor and steps of the altar. The formula of the coronation, from the earliest times, appointed two bishops to support the person of royalty during the ceremonial; this office, if antique illuminated MSS. may be trusted, was that of supporting St. Edward's crown on each side, if it did not happen to fit the royal head on which it had descended. Thus the stalwart warrior, Edward I., is represented with a bishop on each side, extending a hand to sustain the crown of St. Edward by one of its ornaments. Bishops had probably held it over the heads of the crowned children, Henry III., Richard II., Henry VI., and Edward VI. The custom had been lost since, for when the large crown (which had been made in the place of that of St. Edward, destroyed in the civil war, to fit the head of the queen's uncle, Charles II.) tottered on the less powerful brow of her father, it was his false servant, Henry Sidney, who supported it, and not his faithful, but ill-treated bishop Ken, of Bath and Wells. Queen Anne required the actual aid of sustaining hands to support her person in a standing position: singular as it is, she was the only infirm person ever crowned monarch of England, either before or since, and yet her majesty had only just completed her thirty-seventh year.

By the assistance of the bishops, the queen contrived to reach the altar, where she went through the ceremonial of the first offertory; unlike her immediate predecessors, William and Mary, when the exhortation was heard, "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty," queen Anne had provided wherewithal to put in the gold basins,

and made all her oblations as required. The offering of the swords on the altar, and the chanting of the litany, according to the ritual of the church of England, followed in the usual order. It may be observed that the coronation ceremonial is, in effect, *an interlude* between the actual celebration of the holy communion; it commences after the Nicene creed and sermon, the eucharistical part of the rite not being administered until the sovereign, anointed, crowned, and enthroned, has received the homages. At the end of the Nicene creed, which was begun by the archbishop, and sung by the choir, the queen stood up. When the creed was concluded, Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, presented himself to preach the sermon, to which office the queen had herself appointed him. The pulpit was placed upon a pillar at the northeast corner of the platform, very near the queen's chair. The sermon was short and impressive: it was printed by the queen's express desire. The text was from Isaiah xlix.,—"Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers."

The queen heard the sermon sitting in her chair, on the south side of the altar, over against the pulpit. On her right hand stood the bishop of Durham, and beyond him, on the same side, the lords who bore the swords of state,—Stanley earl of Derby, Vere earl of Oxford, and Gray earl of Kent. On the left side of the queen's chair stood her other clerical supporters, Trelawney bishop of Exeter,¹ and lord Lindsay, who fulfilled that day the office of her lord *great-chamberlain*. Such was the group round her majesty. On the north side of the altar sat the archbishop of Canterbury, in a purple velvet chair, the bishops being placed on their bench along the north wall. On the south side, between the queen's chair and the altar of Westminster abbey, stood the dean of Westminster and the chapter. The Protestant coronation-oath, which was permanently established at Anne's inauguration, was preceded by the following dialogue and declaration.

The sermon being ended, the archbishop of Canterbury

¹ In the place of Kidder, as bishop of Bath and Wells *de facto*, who for some reason declined appearing. He was really a dissenter.

rose and went to the queen; standing before her, he said, "Is your majesty willing to make the *declaration*?" The queen answered, "I am willing." The archbishop having provided himself with the required declaration, written on a roll of parchment, read it as follows:—

"I Anne, by the grace of God queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,¹ &c., do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. 2dly, That the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. 3dly, And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read to me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person, or without any hope of such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking I am, or can be, acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or of any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

"The queen audibly *made* and repeated the same, and afterwards subscribed it." Then the archbishop asked the queen, "Is your majesty willing to take the coronation-oath?" The queen replied, "I am willing." Her majesty at the same time had a book in her hands, by the which she fully understood the nature of what she undertook. "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes of parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?" asked archbishop Tennison. "I solemnly promise so to do," replied queen Anne. "Will you, to your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?" asked the archbishop. "I will," replied queen Anne. "Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the *Protes-*

¹ The important words, "head of the church," are either omitted, or supposed to be included in the "&c."

tant reformed religion established by law? and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them or any of them?" asked the archbishop. "All this I promise to do," replied queen Anne. Then the queen, arising out of her chair, supported as before, and assisted by lord Lindsay, the great-chamberlain, the sword of state being carried before her, went to the altar, and there made her solemn oath, in sight of the people present, to observe these promises. As the queen knelt on the steps of the altar, with her hand on the gospel, she said these words:—"The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep, so help me God!" Then her majesty kissed the book. Having thus taken her oath, the queen returned to her chair, and kneeling at the faldstool, the *Veni Creator* was sung by the choir.

The anointing and all the ceremonies connected therewith proceeded according to the ancient form. The queen's infirmities did not cause her to dispense with the ceremony of standing to be solemnly girt with the sword of St. Edward, or from going with it to offer it at the altar. It was redeemed, according to the usual form, for one hundred shillings; the noble who bore it was the last of the De Veres, earls of Oxford. The sword was forthwith unsheathed by him, and carried before her majesty during the rest of the ceremonial. The spurs were, however, only presented; they were sent by the queen directly to the altar. Her majesty was then invested with the ring and staff.

The coronation-ring put on the fourth finger of Anne's right hand was, indeed, a balas ruby, with the cross of St. George engraved thereon; but it was not the ancient jewel of Edward the Confessor, "the wedding-ring of England," as it is quaintly called by the old heralds and chroniclers. The queen's deposed father had, in his dire distress at Feversham, made a struggle with his reason, then veering under his filial calamities, to preserve that precious jewel, which he effectually did; therefore neither of his daughters

ever had that inestimable gem. But a report exists, that cardinal York, the last surviving grandson of James, sent it to the present royal family of England, and that it has been worn by the last three sovereigns of Great Britain. The address with which Anne received her coronation-ring seems to have been unaltered from the ancient formula:—

“Receive this ring, the ensign of kingly dignity and of defence of the *Catholic* faith, that as you are this day consecrated head of this kingdom and people, so being rich in faith, and abounding in good words, you may reign with him, who is the King of kings, to whom be honor and glory forever. Amen.”

The archbishop, after the investiture of the ring, standing before the altar, on which were the staff, sceptre, and orb of sovereignty, took the crown, which represents that of St. Edward, in his hand, and placing it again before him on the altar, made the following invocation:—

“O God, the Saviour and rewarder of them that faithfully serve thee, who alone dost govern them with mercy and loving-kindness, bless and sanctify this thy servant Anne, our queen, who now in lowly devotion boweth her head to thy divine majesty.”

The manuscript has a marginal direction in this place:—*“Here the queen must be put in mind to bow her head,”*—little needed, indeed, if Anne had the least appreciation of the sense of this beautiful aspiration.

“And as thou doest this day set a crown of pure gold upon her head, so enrich her royal heart with thy heavenly and abundant grace, and crown her with all princely virtues which may adorn the high station wherein thou hast placed her, through him who is the King immortal, invisible, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honor and glory forever.”

Then, queen Anne being seated in her chair, the archbishop, assisted by the other bishops, came from the altar, and the dean of Westminster brought the crown. The archbishop took it reverently, and put it on the head of the queen, at which sight the people, with loud and repeated shouts, cried “God save the queen!” the trumpets sounded, and the Tower guns answered a signal made from the turrets of Westminster abbey by thundering discharges. When silence had succeeded to this joyous uproar, after a

solemn pause the archbishop's voice was heard in address to the queen:—

“God crown you with a crown of righteousness and virtue, of victory and honor. The Lord himself be unto you for a crown of glory, and a diadem of beauty; and may you also be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of your God. Be strong and of a good courage; observe the commandments of God, and walk in his ways; fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold of eternal life; that when you have finished your course, you may receive a crown of glory, and honor, and immortality that fadeth not away, which God, the righteous judge, shall give you at that day.”

The choir then broke into a short but rejoicing anthem, “Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem;” the peers and peeresses put on their coronets while it was being sung. One of the prebends of Westminster then brought the Holy Bible to the dean of Westminster. The dean, after first placing it on the altar, brought it in procession to the archbishop, who, attended by the bishops, presented it, with great reverence, to the queen, with this address:—

“Our gracious queen,—Thus saith the Lord of old to his peculiar people, by the hand of his servant Moses, When thy king sitteth upon the throne of the kingdom, he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and so keep all the words of this law to do them, and that he turn not aside to the right hand nor to the left, to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children.”

Which passage must have seemed like a denunciation to the childless queen, who had so recently put off her mourning for her only son.

And now queen Anne having been anointed and crowned, and having received all the ensigns of royal dignity, the archbishop solemnly blessed her; and at each clause of the benediction the peers and bishops, who stood round about her, joined “in a loud and hearty Amen.”

“The Lord bless and keep you; the Lord make the light of his countenance to shine ever upon you, and be gracious unto you; the Lord protect you in all your ways, and preserve you from every evil thing; the Lord prosper the works of your own hands upon you; the Lord prosper your handy work.”

To which the peers and bishops responded, “Amen.”

“May all the blessings of heaven and earth plenteously descend upon you,” continued the archbishop; “the Lord give you of the dew of heaven and the

fatness of the earth, a fruitful country and healthful seasons, a faithful senate and a quiet empire, wise counsellors and victorious armies, a loyal nobility and a dutiful gentry, and an honest, peaceable, and obedient commonalty."

"Amen," responded the peers and bishops "very heartily and devoutly;" and there were some points in this aspiration wonderfully suited to the urgent necessities of the times, for the most dismal weather in winter and summer, attended by famines and agues, had plagued the British empire since the accession of William III., and greatly added to his unpopularity with "the honest, peaceable, and obedient commonalty," who laid the whole blame upon his majesty; insomuch, it is traditionary in the Highlands, "that on the 8th of March, a cottager going out to trench his kale-yard, and seeing the first fine day he had beheld for twelve or fourteen years, threw down his spade, gave a Highland fling in the air, and an exclamation in Gaelic, 'The wicked king is dead to a certainty!'"

"The Lord preserve your life, and establish your throne," continued archbishop Tennison, "that your reign may be prosperous and your days many; that you may live long in this world, obeyed, and honored, and beloved by your people, ever increasing in favor both with God and man, and leave a numerous posterity to rule these kingdoms after you by succession in all ages."

"Amen," responded queen Anne's surrounding peers and bishops; but this clause, like more than one in the coronation rite, must have brought remembrance of her recently-lost Gloucester sorely to the memory of the bereaved and hopeless mother.

The peers performed their homage to the queen as soon as she was enthroned, her husband, prince George of Denmark, leading the way, and offering his homage as duke of Cumberland. The archbishops and the prelates did their homage *as temporal peers* after prince George, preceding the nobles: they *seemingly* kissed her majesty's left cheek,¹ and afterwards touched her crown. Meantime, her gracious pardon was read, and her coronation-medals of gold and silver thrown about among the people, "as her maj-

¹ London Gazette. It is not certain whether this word "seemingly" was introduced by the writer of the Gazette, or that the peers had been directed only to seem to salute queen Anne.

esty's gracious largess and donative," says the Bankes' manuscript ;¹ and while the homage of the lords was performed, the grand final anthem was sung by the choir with instrumental music. At the end of the anthem the trumpets sounded, and all the people shouted, " God save queen Anne! Long live queen Anne! May the queen live forever!"

The royal family acknowledged by the country had dwindled to a small and distant span indeed, for the childless and Roman Catholic widow of Charles II. was the only person, besides the sovereign, remembered by name in the prayers of the church of England.

"O Lord our God, who upholdest and governest all things in heaven and earth, receive our humble prayers, with our thanksgivings, for our sovereign lady queen Anne, set over us by thy grace and good providence to be our queen, and so, together with her, bless Catharine the queen-dowager, and the whole royal family."

Catharine of Braganza was then reigning as queen-regent in her native country with some *éclat*. It seems singular that she should be remembered in the prayers at the coronation, and that queen Anne's Protestant consort should not be named in the first Protestant coronation that had occurred in this country of a queen acknowledged as entirely sovereign-regnant, which her sister and predecessor could scarcely be considered, unless at times when she was formally invested with the regency.

The retirement of the queen to St. Edward's chapel (called in coronation-language the recess), her divestment of her consecrated crown, robes, and regalia (termed those of St. Edward), and the offering of them on the shrine of the regal saint and lawgiver, her collateral ancestor, her assumption of the state-crown and purple velvet robes, which she was to wear at the banquet in Westminster hall, proceeded, according to the usual routine, without any variation peculiarly personal to queen Anne. Her majesty's day's labor was only half performed: she could not avoid appearing at the banquet, lest the Jacobite portion of the community might say that she dared not suffer the

¹ Brit. Museum.

champion, Dymoke, to perform his challenge, as that had proved a remarkably awkward step in the coronation ceremonial¹ of her predecessors, William and Mary. Queen Anne, therefore, went through all the ceremonials pertaining to her coronation-banquet, from the entrance of the *dillegrouit* to that of the champion, without any of the perverse accidents which had marked her sister's and brother-in-law's coronations. Every proceeding was as regular as if her title had been as perfectly undisputed and indisputable as that of her present majesty.

At the banquet, his royal highness prince George of Denmark dined at the table of the queen-regnant, his consort; "he sat at the end thereof, at her majesty's left hand." The parliament being sitting, the members of the house of commons were assigned seats in the abbey, in the north cross, and at the banquet in the gallery at the east end of Westminster hall. At the foregoing coronation, the commons (who had taken to themselves, in the preceding century, almost every function of crown and church) had been not a little astonished and offended at finding that a specific place of entertainment had been provided for every estate of the realm excepting their own important body. William and Mary, who were nearly penniless themselves, rather ungratefully followed the ancient regulation, and the commons, although they had proved the means of crowning their majesties, went dinnerless at their coronation-banquet. Lamberty, one of the secretaries of the then prime-minister, discusses the fact dryly, as if he thought, privately, that it was a mighty good joke. Queen Anne treated her commons with more hospitality, and they were regaled with a good dinner in the Exchequer chamber.²

It was past eight in the evening before all the services and ceremonials of the coronation-banquet were finished by her majesty, who, after resting and disrobing at the court of wards, was carried back to St. James's palace in her close sedan, exceedingly fatigued. The palace, with the rest of the metropolis, was in a tumult of joyous excitement, and prince George of Denmark, with a circle of the

¹ Life of Mary II.

² London Gazette, April, 1702.

private friends of royalty, was disposed to do what most persons that night were doing; which was, passing a considerable portion of it in a carouse, drinking their sovereign lady's health. Her majesty was, however, disposed to seek repose from all her fatigues of regality on her pillow. The lord chamberlain noticed that the queen was exceedingly tired, and would be glad if his royal highness would propose going to bed. "*I propose?*" replied the prince, jovially; "*I cannot. I am her majesty's subject,—have done and sworn homage to her to-day; I shall do nought but what she commands me.*"—"Then," replied queen Anne, laughing, "as that is the case, and I am very tired, I do command you, George, to come to bed."² Her majesty was obeyed.

Altogether, this coronation proceeded prosperously, and gave general satisfaction to all classes of society, not excepting the very worst; for the thieves, who were numerous and audacious beyond all modern computation, stole the whole of the plate used at her majesty's banquet in Westminster hall, together with a vast quantity of pewter and valuable table-linen.²

The coronation-medal of Anne bears the impression of her profile, representing her as very fat and swollen, her throat exceedingly short and thick; on the reverse of the medal is a heart, crowned, amidst oaken foliage, surrounded by a legend of the words ENTIRELY ENGLISH, from her speech on the opening her first parliament. An altar in front bears an inscription in Latin, which means "Descended from a race of kings." Another medal bears the queen's head, depicting her still fatter and thicker: it was struck on the appointment of her husband, prince George, as high-admiral. His likeness occupies the other side; the lower part of his face is enormously thick, yet his profile would have been handsome but for a very odd expression of face,

¹ This is one of those floating anecdotes which may be almost considered oral; it is, however, printed in the antiquary Hutton's Visit to London, being a tour through Westminster abbey, the Tower, etc., published in the Freemasons' Magazine, 1792 to 1795.

² Malcolm's Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London, p. 54.

as if he were turning up his mouth at his own nose. There were several different designs in the medals given, or thrown, at the queen's coronation, but the principal was the "entirely English" heart. In the queen's great seal she is, like her ancestors, represented on horseback, crowned with the arched crown, from which flies a most elaborate ribbon or scarf; her hair floats in curls on her neck, which is uncovered, all but a throat pearl necklace; the royal mantle, lined with ermine, flows over her shoulders. She holds the sceptre in her hand, and the globe in her lap. She sits full in front, as if on the step side-saddle. The other side presents her in the same dress, but enthroned.

Queen Anne's manifesto of war against France, issued May 4, 1702, was received by Louis XIV. with a *bon-mot*,—"It is a sign that I grow old, when ladies declare war against me."¹ He doubtless recalled Anne to memory as he last saw her, when she was in her infancy, wearing her long veil and black train at the Palais-Royal.²

The very next day of the declaration of war, the house of commons voted thanks to queen Anne for the first important step taken to secure the crown of Great Britain to the next Protestant line of the royal family, in these words:—"May 5th. This day it was resolved in the house of commons, that an address of thanks be presented to her majesty for her great zeal for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, in directing, by an order of council, the princess Sophia to be prayed for. On Sunday last the princess Sophia was prayed for in all the churches of London and Westminster."³ Her majesty went from St. James's to Windsor, on the 2d of June, where she knighted Simon Harcourt, and appointed him her solicitor-general. Prince

¹ True and Secret History of the Lives and Reigns of the Kings and Queens of England; from the library of his royal highness the late duke of Sussex.

² Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

³ Somerville, who deals in generalities, in his reign of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 79, hints that the house of commons, dissolved by the queen in April, 1704, had done great things to secure the Protestant succession; it may be supposed this was one, as it occurs in the Whitehall Gazette of the current year, among the Stepney Papers, Brit. Museum. Likewise, in Toone's Chronology is a notation of the above date.

George of Denmark went forward to Portsmouth the same day: he was there received with all the distinction due to "the dear consort of her majesty." The mighty naval preparations of England for the war were reviewed by the queen's consort before sailing from Portsmouth. He proceeded next day to the Isle of Wight, where all the newly-raised forces were encamped,—a very excellent situation, as they could not easily desert, which great numbers of them attempted to do. The prince, in quality of her majesty's generalissimo, pardoned several of these unfortunate men, at the moment when they were led out to death.¹ The contrast, in this action, to the military and naval cruelties of punishment which will render the reign of William and Mary ever remarkable was believed to spring from the merciful disposition of queen Anne, which, of course, augmented the love that the common people bore to her.

In illustration of the queen's clemency, there exists, to her credit, many little autograph letters, proving her majesty's personal interference in these cases. One of them, which is undated, as is usually the case in Anne's correspondence, was, perhaps, written on the foregoing occasion; and even if placed a little prematurely, is true evidence of her feelings on such occasions.

QUEEN ANNE TO SECRETARY SIR CHARLES HEDGES.²

"Monday night.

"I have been soe often found fault with for interposing in the case of deserters, that I am almost afraid to do it; but the enclosed *payper* seems to me to be soe moving, that I can't help sending it to you, and desiring you would take care that execution may be *stoped* till you can inquire further into the matter.

"I am, your very affectionate

"ANNE, R."

The queen had the more pity for these unfortunate deserters, since the maintenance of large standing armies, perennially employed in foreign warfare, was a new infliction on the British population. Such had not been usual since

¹ May Boyer's Annals.

² Copied from the original series, lately in the possession of James Montague, Esq. They were never printed until given in the Monthly Magazine, 1803.

the invasions of France under the Plantagenets, and at that era the military code of St. George, adapted to a high-spirited yeoman or franklin class of soldiery, was essentially different from the discipline enforced by the mutiny bill. There was, it is true, a severe clause, threatening boring tongues for blasphemy; but then blasphemy, being neither a want nor luxury, presents, after all, small temptation to human nature, howsoever perversely disposed.

The political history of the reign of queen Anne (from which the pages of her biography will be kept as clear as perspicuity will permit) appears, to the eyes of readers in general, to consist of violent and interminable contests between two classes, into which the whole kingdom was divided. The names of these two parties are frequently heard in the present times, yet it has never been satisfactorily proved from whence the name of either Whig or Tory was derived. Each was undeniably one of those nicknames in which party malignity especially delights, springing from the same feelings that occasioned the ugly *sobriquets* of Lollard, Quaker, and Papist to have been, in turn, accented with peculiar rancor. But the derivation of these terms of polemic venom are not so far-fetched and mysterious as Whig and Tory. Whig is said to have been derived from the Anglo-Saxon word signifying war and contention; the term was found thus oddly spelt and sounded by Cromwell's soldiers when they invaded Scotland and defeated the Scotch at Dunbar, and they seem to have imported it into the south to denote persons they found more impracticable and contentious than themselves. Yet it soon after designated their own party throughout the island, as systematic opposers to royalty. It was thus used by the piper of Dundee, who so bitterly aggravated the insurgents at Bothwell Brigg by playing and singing the following stave just as the battle joined:—

“Awa, Whigs, awa!
Awa, Whigs, awa!
Ye're but a pack o' traitor loons,
And do no good at a'!
Awa, Whigs, awa!”

The poor piper was sent tumbling down the banks of the Clyde¹ into the stream by a whig bullet; but the refrain of his song was taken up, and has been echoed by a powerful English party ever since. Thus one great division of English politicians were named from a civil war in Scotland; and they, not to be found wanting in similar courtesies, becalled their opponents from some predatory guerillas, who distinguished themselves when the Jacobite civil war was fought in Ireland; these were Rapparees, or Tories. The duchess of Marlborough, in her unpublished writings,² always calls them *Rapparees*, and very often, like her royal mistress (neither being remarkable for skill in orthography), spells whigs as *wigs*.

The whigs, in the time of queen Anne, chiefly contended for the policy and propriety of keeping up a perpetual war against France, ostensibly in order to prevent the re-establishment of the son of James II. Their opposition to the reformed Catholic church of England was really more violent than to the church of Rome, and the chief object of their opposition was to prevent the sovereign of England (who bore the awful responsibility of head of the church in the eyes of her people) from naming those of the clergy she approved to any sees or benefices that became vacant. The whigs chose that these places should be the gift of the prime-minister who could command most votes in the house of commons, whatsoever his belief might be. The tories supported the prerogative of queen Anne to name the dignitaries of the church; they resisted the predominance of the Calvinistic or Geneva party in the church of England, vulgarly termed 'low church.' They were for an economical government, and for naval war instead of continental regimental war; they advocated the extension and protection of the noble colonies planted by the Stuart kings; they had exposed the enormous corruptions of William III. and his party in the house of

¹ Jacobite Relics.

² Coxe MSS., vol. xlvi. p. 197, which contain the duchess of Marlborough's original lucubrations, widely differing from the printed publications. Many anecdotes, hitherto inedited, are presented from them in this volume.

commons. They were generally considered Jacobites,—they would have gladly been so, if the son of James II. had been of the same religion as his grandfather, Charles I. They appear to have been unwillingly, but sincerely, convinced of the impossibility of a Roman Catholic being the head of the church of England.

There is reason to believe that the restoration of the church of England to the vital rights of electing her spiritual dignitaries was meditated by the queen, and by her uncle, lord Rochester, whom she chose for her prime-minister when she ascended the throne, and declared him as such soon after. With his assistance and co-operation, queen Anne carried into effect an act of benevolence, which will make her name forever gratefully venerated by our church. Her majesty, at her accession, was entitled to the first-fruits of every benefice or dignity conferred by the crown. With praiseworthy self-denial, instead of appropriating these gains to the amplification of her personal power or magnificence, queen Anne formed with it a fund to augment the miserable livings, or rather *starvings*, which too often fall to the lot of some of the most excellent of the clergy. The fund bears the expressive name of ‘queen Anne’s Bounty.’ Words would be wasted in dwelling on it with panegyric; it speaks for itself, being still in operation, and having effected immense good. A plan of similar beneficence was first carried into effect, from the savings of his preferments, by the noble and self-denying archbishop Sancroft. Queen Anne followed his example on the most extended scale of royal munificence, and her generosity has placed her name high on the list of royal foundresses in the Christian church.

Lady Marlborough was now at the pinnacle of her long-anticipated glory, and she had reigned supremely over the formation of the newly-formed royal household, disposing of all places therein as it seemed good in her eyes. From the mighty Dutch magnate Portland, down to the humble clear-starcher Abrahah, Sarah of Marlborough placed and displaced whomsoever she thought fit.¹ Very unceremoni-

¹ Coxe MSS., lady Marlborough’s statement.

ously, at her instigation, did the queen eject lord Portland from the rangeship of Windsor park. At the same instant he had the vexation to behold the object of his avowed hatred, lady Marlborough, leap into the place.¹ The queen, too, testified some of her hoarded hates and antipathies: Charles earl of Macclesfield was discharged by her from all the rich offices and sinecures with which he had been loaded by her sister and her spouse. Her majesty's reasons, according to his own quotation of her words, were "because he had thrown blood in her father's face,"²—a startling metaphor, whereby queen Anne indicated her remembrance of his being the chief instigator in the calumny that loaded her father with the death of lord Essex, who destroyed himself in the Tower at the explosion of 'the Rye-house plot.' Lord Macclesfield was at that time entitled lord Brandon: he had been banished for slaughtering a poor sentinel, who only did his duty by stopping him and another nobleman from entering the palace of Whitehall by the stairs that led from St. James's park to the Long Gallery at a forbidden hour, when returning from their orgies. The transaction was a cowardly one, for the two titled ruffians, setting upon the poor youth together, flung him over the balustrade, and broke his bones miserably on the pavement.³ For this detestable murder lord Brandon was justly condemned to die, but his punishment was unwisely commuted by James II. to banishment. While in Holland, he became the author of the numerous attacks on king James, charging him with the death of lord Essex, to which queen Anne alluded. He returned as a *patriot* with the prince of Orange; he became a minister of state, and, when earl of Macclesfield, enjoyed an immense share in the enormous grants which William III. bestowed on his supporters.

Queen Anne about the same time abolished, by order of council publicly announced,⁴ the injurious practice of permitting the sale of places in the royal household. It was

¹ Coxe MSS., lady Marlborough's statement.

² Ibid.

³ Trial of lord Brandon for murder; Howell's State-Trials.

⁴ Toone's Chronology, July 10, 1702.

a very bad French custom, brought in with the Restoration, but openly and officially transacted since the Revolution, when places at court were purchased of the former possessor, exactly as officers buy their commissions in the army at the present time. Thus the sovereign was deprived of the prerogative of choosing his or her own servants, nor could any remarkable degree of fidelity be expected from the purchasers. The proverb says, "what a man buys he may sell;" too many of the retainers of royalty in those days did not limit their sales to their offices. "The master of the horse," says the Marlborough MSS., "the groom of the stole, and the comptroller of the household,—in short, everybody who had the disposal of places in these departments, claimed the right to sell them, and were no more ashamed of taking the proceeds than of receiving their salaries, or their rents out of the country."¹

It may be observed that lady Marlborough in her memorials, either edited or inedited, takes the credit of every generous action done by her royal mistress while she remained in favor. If an old servant were pensioned, she audaciously asserts that she continued his salary, although the cost was paid from the privy-purse. When queen Anne issued her palace-ordinance to the public, "that no more places were to be sold in her household," lady Marlborough records the fact; but, after indulging at length in the warmest flow of self-praise on her own generosity, assures her friends, public and private, "that the command was really issued by herself." It is dubious whether queen Anne's master of the horse, her comptroller of the household, and her groom of the stole would have obeyed any orders but those of the queen, requiring them to relinquish the profits of the sale of places under them, which they were "no more ashamed of taking than they were of receiving their rents of landed property." The queen actually followed the impulse of her own bountiful temper, and her favorite made the best of the royal orders for the exaltation of her own consequence by holding a sort of tribunal in the palace, something like the court of requests, where,

¹ Coxe MSS., vol. xlv.; inedited letter of the duchess of Marlborough.

with great pomp, she took petitions and heard grievances. Her account of her own doings at the accession affords some information regarding the establishment of the royal household of queen Anne.

"The first thing of the kind," says lady Marlborough, "that comes into my mind, is in relation to sir Edward Lawrence. Some time after the death of king William, he desired leave to speak with me. On being admitted, he addressed himself to me with this complaint:—He had given eight hundred pounds for a place in that king's household, lord Jersey being lord chamberlain, but by the death of his majesty, and his servants not being paid by the queen, he had lost his money and his salary too, 'and hoped *I* would consider his case.' I told him 'that he came too late, for the queen had appointed all her family; however, I would do what I could for the queen to take him on the next vacancy,' which I accordingly did, without receiving anything from him, and he still enjoys the place. The pages of the back-stairs are places so considerable, that I have been told several grooms of the stole have sold them for a thousand guineas each; but I gave them freely to Mr. Kirk, Mr. Saxton, and Mr. Smith, purely at the request of three ladies, lady Charlotte Bevervaart, lady Fitzharding, and the countess of Plymouth, that married bishop Biss. All the other places I had to dispose of were in the robes, which I made no more advantage of than the others. I gave the place of waiter 'in the robes' to Mr. Curtis, who had married a woman that had served my children. I gave another place of the kind to Mr. Foster, who had served the duke of Marlborough, and I made William Lovegrove coffer-bearer, who was also a servant of the duke of Marlborough. These three were turned out of their places by the duchess of Somerset in the most shameful manner, to make room for her own servants.² I also gave a place of coffer-bearer to Mr. Woolrich, and another, under the groom of the stole, to Mr. Hodges,

¹ Coxe MSS., vol. xliv.; letter to Mr. Hutchinson, inedited; Brit. Museum.

² Several years afterwards, when the duchess of Marlborough was deprived of her offices of mistress of the robes and groom of the stole.

who had both been servants in the family of the princess. Besides these, I made Mrs. Abrahall, whom I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, 'the queen's starcher,' and settled a hundred a year on her, because she had washed the queen's heads for twenty pounds a year when she was princess." The "queen's heads" were the Brussels-lace cornette caps of three stages, an old-lady style of dress, which had been made fashionable throughout Europe by the costume which madame de Maintenon, the elderly spouse of Louis XIV., thought proper to adopt. Even babies wore this very queer cap, which somewhat resembled the façade of a church, with three galleries, each higher than the other. Between the queen's starcher, Mrs. Abrahall, and the duchess, a fierce feud ensued afterwards, but all was harmonious at this halcyon period. "I gave the place of sempstress to the queen," pursues the duchess, "to Mrs. Ravensford (who has since married a son of the bishop of Ely), because her mother was in the same place before."

The queen further caused an order of council to be enforced in the department of the green cloth, that every person taking office was to testify, by solemn oath, that he did not pay anything for his place.¹ The duchess of Marlborough claims all these steps as the result of her own bright integrity and scorn of ready cash, while giving the only information leading to the fact, that queen Anne was the sovereign who actually destroyed the place-selling system at the British court. It had been winked at by easy Charles, her uncle, who suffered his court-harpies to fill all lower offices with mercenaries, who could not be removed for their misdeeds, because "the poor folk, oddsfish! had paid their cash to Buckingham or Killigrew, or some other merry villains." Intelligence of this custom went forth into distant provinces, and shoals of harmless country gentlemen swarmed up to court with their ready cash in hand, to deal for court places with the said "merry villains." The story was rife at queen Anne's board of

¹ Coxe MSS., vol. xlv.; letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; inedited.

green cloth, that Killigrew had actually sold to some of these good people the imaginary offices of "the king's physic-taster," and the "royal curtain-drawer;"¹ and when the injured parties claimed their places, or the return of their gold, they found that the gold was spent, and the invention of these absurd offices was only meant as a capital good joke.

Although queen Anne had put such stringent restrictions on the sale of places, such regulations had the sole effect of limiting the negotiations, and the attendant profits, to her female "mayor of the palace;" for, notwithstanding lady Marlborough's vehement praises of her own honesty and disinterestedness in such cases, the assertions of her contemporary, Cunningham, directly contradict her. That historian, being in the confidence of the house of Argyle (remarkable as its nobles were for revolutionary proceedings in the seventeenth century), cannot be suspected of Jacobite antipathy to the duchess, yet his words are these:—"Within the palace itself was a very busy market of all the offices of government. The queen's own relations were kept at a distance, and all things were transacted by the sole authority of *one* woman, to whom there was no access but by the golden road."²

The queen, alarmed at the effects of an asthma, which had in the course of the summer endangered the life of the prince, her husband, resolved to make a western progress, from Windsor to Bath, for the recovery of his health. Her majesty took Oxford in her way, and, though she rested there but one night, was received with the most fervent loyalty. The example of William III., who refused to eat the banquet provided for him at Oxford, on some suspicion of poison, in the year 1696, was not followed by his successor, who did more than ample justice to the hospitality of the university; likewise, she took most graciously the accustomed gift of Woodstock gloves, and a Bible, promising at the same time a future visit.³ The citizens of Bath,

¹ Tracts, by Swift.

² Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 258.

³ Boyer's Annals, 1702.

in their address of congratulation to Anne on her accession, had invited her to revisit their city, where she had, in the most lowering periods of her career, always been received with undeviating marks of attachment. On the confines of Somersetshire her majesty and prince George were welcomed with signal marks of honor and affection. One hundred young men of Bath city, uniformly clad and armed, and two hundred of the young women dressed as Amazons, met the queen on the borders of the county, and conducted her *cortège*, by a road cut for the occasion, from the summit of Lansdowne to the western gate of Bath, where the corporation received the royal visitors, and conducted them to their apartments. So great a concourse thronged to the city in consequence of this visit of the queen, that the articles of general consumption rose a hundred per cent., and a guinea a night was charged for a bed.¹ The first day of September, 1702, is the date of this arrival, and about the same period is recorded a curious *incognito* visit which George of Denmark made to the neighboring city of Bristol. His consort's name is woven up in the story as queen when it occurred, but though the incidents may be true, there must be a great mistake in the chronology, for the prince-consort was a decided invalid soon after the queen's accession, his locomotion being too seriously impeded with gout, dropsy, and asthma, for flying visits of the species commemorated in the topography of Bristol and other grave authorities.

Once on a time, then, George of Denmark, went to Bristol, and proceeded to examine the lions thereof. He made his appearance on the Exchange, attended solely by a military officer, remaining there till the merchants had withdrawn, none of them having either the courage or the inclination to ask him to partake of any hospitality. All departed excepting a humble bodice-maker, one John Duddlestone, whose abode was in Corn street. The good man walked up to prince George, and asked him, "Are you, sir, the husband of our queen Anne, as folks say you are?" The prince replied "that such was the fact." John Duddle-

¹ Warner's History of Bath.

stone resumed, "that he had seen, with great concern, that none of the prime merchants on 'Change had invited him home; but it was not for want of love or loyalty, but merely because each was afraid of the presumption of addressing so great a man." John Duddlestone added, "that the shame to Bristol would be great, nevertheless, if the husband of their queen was obliged, for want of hospitality, to dine at an inn; he therefore begged him, humble as he was, to accompany him home to dinner, and to bring his soldier-officer along with him,—if they could eat what he had to offer them, which was a good piece of roast beef, a plum-pudding, and some ale of his wife's own brewing." Prince George was charmed with this most original invitation, and accepted it with gratitude, although he had already bespoken his dinner at the White Lion. His royal highness and his noble companion accompanied John Duddlestone to his home, and when that worthy citizen arrived there, he called to his spouse at the foot of the stairs, "Wife, wife! put on a clean apron and come down, for the queen's husband and a soldier-gentleman are come to dine with us." Dame Duddlestone descended forthwith, clad in a clean blue apron, and, according to the national English custom of that era, was saluted by prince George when she entered the parlor.

In the course of their dinner, his royal highness asked his entertainer "if he ever went to London?" John Duddlestone replied, "that since the ladies had chosen to wear stays instead of bodices, he sometimes went thither to buy whalebone." The prince, when he took leave, requested his host "that, the next time he travelled there, he would bring his wife, and to be sure to take her to court." He at the same time gave him a card, which he said would facilitate his admission at Windsor castle.

Whensoever the pleasing incident of John Duddlestone's hospitality to George of Denmark might have occurred, it is certain that, on Thursday, September 3, 1702, that worthy citizen had an opportunity of seeing the queen, with his former guest by her side, make their state-entry into Bristol in the royal carriage. The records of the bright city

expressly remark that the queen's coach was black, drawn by black horses, with black harness and housings. Such dismal trappings, which were likewise seen on the twelve carriages that made up the royal procession, were in consequence of the deep mourning which still prevailed for king William. The Bristol annals likewise mention that the mourning worn by the royal persons was purple. The queen and prince George went through all the usual routine of a grand civic reception, from which the ancient customs of pageantry and presents were entirely excluded; and then partook of a magnificent dinner, at the great house of sir Thomas Day, Bridge end.¹ Here queen Anne gave receptions to mistress mayoress and other Bristol ladies, who kissed her majesty's hand, and went through the regular court presentations. When the fatiguing day came to a close, the queen, with her invalid consort, entered their black vehicle, and, followed by their long funeral-looking procession of mourning coaches, arrived safely at the neighboring city of Bath that night.

In the course of the first four months of her accession, the queen seems to have taken considerable pleasure in rewarding any instances of disinterested attention, which either she or her consort had experienced during their previous long eclipse of court favor. The kindness of Mrs. Davies, of Twickenham, was rewarded by a renewal of her expiring lease of the house she had lent for the reception of the duke of Gloucester, for which purpose queen Anne wrote an especial request to Catharine of Braganza, of whose dower the old manor-house and its demesne made part. The royal visit to Bristol evidently brought John Duddlestone to the memory of prince George, and caused that worthy citizen's connection with royalty to conclude in a very satisfactory manner. The queen remained at Bath until within a few days of the assembling of her parliament. On her homeward progress, the following picturesque incident occurred:—Queen Anne, being hunting near Lippock, alighted from her equipage and reposed herself

¹ It is noted in the Bristol civic records, that the queen's own cook, Mr. Lamb, was employed to dress the dinner.

on a green bank, while the lord of the manor caused the whole of the deer in Woolmer, five hundred in number, to be driven past her; so that she may be said to have reviewed them. The queen said, "that she had never before seen so many deer in her life at once, and considered it a stately sight for a prince to look upon." This tradition was retailed, from an old man who had assisted with the deer in his youth, to the celebrated naturalist, White of Selborne.

When John Duddlestone needed a new supply of whale-bone, he took his worthy dame behind him on his pack-horse, and journeyed London-ward. He found an easy admittance at the royal castle of Windsor in his way from the west, and was introduced by prince George to the queen. Her majesty thanked them for their hospitality to her consort, and in return invited them to dine with her. She told them they must have court-dresses for the occasion, which should be provided by the officers of her wardrobe, but she wished them to choose the material. John Duddlestone and his dame chose purple velvet, such as the prince had on at that time. The suits were accordingly made, and worn at the royal dinner-party, queen Anne herself presenting her guests "as the most loyal persons in the city of Bristol." After dinner, her majesty desired John Duddlestone to kneel down, and, according to the very words and accent of his good helpmate in her oft-repeated description of the scene, first laid a sword on his head, and then said, "Ston up, sir Jan."

Queen Anne offered sir John Duddlestone a place under government, or a gratuity in money; but with the sturdy honesty of a by-gone day, the hospitable citizen would accept of neither; "for," he said, "they wanted nothing, and had fifty pounds of savings out at use; and he doubted, from the number of people he saw about her majesty's house, that her living must be very expensive." Queen Anne, however, presented the newly-made lady Duddlestone with her own gold watch from her side. With this mark of royal favor the good dame was particularly delighted, and never failed of wearing it over her blue apron-string

whenever she went to Bristol market. Such is the tradition of Bristol, related in the topographical work descriptive of that city.¹

While the queen remained at Windsor castle, after her return from her visit to the west, she received a familiar and confidential letter from Ernest duke of Saxe-Ehrstein, deploring the death of his duchess in childbed of a little son. He further acquainted the queen that the child survived its mother, and that he had had him christened "Anne" in her honor. The infant Saxon prince was not the only one of the queen's godsons who were endowed with the feminine name of Anne. Among the great mass of Christian names, which it is the custom in Germany to bestow on an infant in baptism, the unpretending name of the queen of Great Britain might glide without much notice; but the fact is, that "lord Anne" was not an uncommon sound in the British peerage or army in the first half of the eighteenth century, to the great affliction of the queen's unfortunate godsons.

¹ Corry's History of Bristol. It is likewise quoted in Hone's Year-Book, and related in the Gentleman's Magazine. There is another sir John Duddleston, created a baronet in 1691, a wealthy tobacco-merchant, who with his lady were buried in All Saints' church, Bristol.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER V.

Change of queen Anne's feelings towards lady Marlborough—Queen conceals her dislike—Remunerates the Marlboroughs for former services—Her letter on that subject—Creates lord Marlborough a duke—Queen presents the Marlboroughs with a pension from privy-purse—Queen tormented by the reproaches of the duchess—Queen's exculpatory letters—Her gifts, etc.—Queen's controversy with the duchess on creation of peers—Queen sceptres Scotch acts of parliament by commission—Offers to restore bishop Ken to his see—Accepts his resignation, and his recommendation of Dr. Hooper—Queen receives a visit from the king of Spain—Queen's letters to sir George Rooke, her admiral—Queen celebrates her birthday by her bounty to the church of England—Resignation of the queen's uncle as her prime-minister—Entire change of her government from tory to whig—Queen falls completely into the power of the duchess of Marlborough—Secret influence of her consort in favor of the whigs and dissenters—Queen's touching for 'the evil'—Her order in council for healing-service—Mode of the queen's performing it, etc.—Queen's improvements at Kensington palace—She builds a banqueting-room there—Her spring and summer fêtes at Kensington—Routine of residences at her summer palaces.

QUEEN ANNE's fond devotion to lady Marlborough had been nearly commensurate with her own existence. Her majesty was but in her thirty-eighth year, and full thirty years of that duration she had loved her almost to the exclusion of every other object. The agreeable hurry and flutter of inducting friends or customers to the sweets of places and preferments, and the still greater luxury of expelling enemies from them, had, however, blinded lady Marlborough to the important fact that her royal mistress began her reign with feelings towards her of a very different nature from those which had hitherto actuated her conduct. The queen's words, either written or in utterance, were more caressing than ever; "for," says her contemporary, Swift, "there was not, perhaps, in all Eng-

land a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than queen Anne. Upon her first coming to the throne, lady Marlborough had lost all favor with her, as her majesty often acknowledged to those who told it to me."¹ He meant Abigail, and her sister Mary Hill, and much the historian importuned these persons to tell him the particulars of the offence given; they never told him, but he expresses his belief that it arose from a mere breach of etiquette,—that some ruffle, periwig, tag, tassel, or fur-below, worn disrespectfully in its wrong place, had caused the quarrel. To do queen Anne justice, although an accidental circumstance, connected with a matter as trifling, had brought to her ears the hatred and loathing her ungrateful favorite bore to her, it was not the trifle itself, but the cruel words she unwillingly had heard that changed her loving heart towards her long-cherished "Mrs. Freeman." However, no one knew that change but Abigail, and she revealed it not, but let it gradually develop itself by those imperceptible means which are scarcely to be defined.

When the grand occupation of the coronation was over, lady Marlborough, the new mistress of the robes, began instinctively to feel rather than to perceive this change. She forthwith commenced carping, quarrelling, and hunting for affronts,—practices which appear not in any former specimens of her correspondence, at least with her royal mistress. The queen, on the other hand, was eager to grant the Marlboroughs all the advantages which their avarice and ambition had anticipated on her attainment of power. Marlborough had yet his fortune to make from her bounty. He, who had begun the world with nothing, notwithstanding his almost supernatural efforts at saving,² had no capital commensurate with his title of earl, or with the still higher flights of his ambition. Queen Anne was

¹ Swift's *Memoirs of the Queen's Ministry*, vol. iii. p. 172.

² Lord Dartmouth enumerates among the sins of the Marlboroughs against their royal patroness, "that they used everything belonging to the queen as if it was their own; that the very linen that the duke took every year to the army was furnished by her majesty."—Lord Dartmouth's *Notes to Burnet's Own Times*, vol. vi. p. 31.

willing to indulge the appetite of the pair for wealth and honors. While this plan was in process, her majesty redoubled her caressing expressions, that her presumed favorites might feed quickly and peacefully, for she did not wish to incur their reproach of sending them empty away ; but that she meant ultimately to break with them, what person can doubt who watches the gradual tendency of every transaction relating to queen Anne and the Marlboroughs ?

The queen came from Windsor to St. James's palace, in time to open her parliament, October 20, 1702. The house of commons was newly elected, and was supposed to be replete with tory principles. Robert Harley was chosen speaker for the third time. Her majesty had left lady Marlborough at Windsor, and meant to dispense with her attendance in her grand state-visit to the city, which was appointed to take place on the lord mayor's day, then celebrated October 29th. The first step the queen took, consonant to her intentions of rewarding the earl of Marlborough for his former adhesion to her interests, was announced in a letter to his lady, written two days after the opening of parliament :—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE LADY MARLBOROUGH.¹

(*In the names of Morley and Freeman.*)

“St. James's, Oct. 22.

“I have had, this evening, the satisfaction of my dear Mrs. Freeman's [letter] of yesterday, for which I give you many thanks ; and though I think it a long time since I saw you, I do not desire you to come one minute sooner to town than is easy for you, but will wait with patience for the happy hour ; and only beg, when you do come, you would send for a coach, and not make use of a chaise.”

Lady Marlborough, it seems, did not then keep a carriage of her own. She was therefore to send for one of the queen's coaches, and give up her plan of travelling from Windsor in a post-chaise. The queen continues :—

“Lord treasurer intends to send you a copy of the address to the house of lords, which is to be given to me to-morrow, and that gives me an opportunity of mentioning a thing which I did not intend to do *yet*. It is very uneasy to your

¹ Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, vol. i. p. 202.

poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, to think that *she* has so very little in her power to show you how sensible *I* am of all lord Marlborough's kindness, especially when he deserves all that a rich crown could give. But, since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave, as soon as he comes, to make him a duke.

"I know that my dear Mrs. Freeman does not care for anything of that kind; nor am I satisfied with it, because it does not enough express the value I have for Mrs. Freeman, nor ever can how passionately I am yours, my dear Mrs. Freeman."

It will be observed, that there is no actual mention of suitable provision to support this dukedom in the queen's letter. No wonder, then, that the announcement of the royal intentions gave lady Marlborough more alarm than pleasure. "When I read the queen's letter, I let it drop out of my hand," said lady Marlborough, "and was for some minutes like one that had received the news of death." It will be seen that the queen rectified this mistake before she sent her message to the house of lords for the creation of the dukedom. Lord Marlborough was more grateful than his wife for this distinction, because it created for him respect among the German princes in Flanders, where he was commander-in-chief of the allied forces.

Notwithstanding the caressing terms of her majesty's epistle, a controversy was going on between lady Marlborough and herself. Thus early in the reign of her royal mistress had the favorite thought fit to interfere with functions of government. The discussion was on the occasion of creating four new peers, which the queen or her ministry had resolved should be all tories. Lady Marlborough had made such violent opposition to this course of proceeding, that at last she actually prevailed on the queen, by her importunity, to add a fifth, Mr. Harvey. Upon which the queen's peers refused their titles, if a whig were to be their associate in the new-made nobility. The poor queen, who was nearly divested of the power that had appertained to her ancestors, was still loaded with all the responsibility of it in the eyes of her people. In her endeavors to compromise between her own party and that of her favorite, she soothed the haughty name with an epistle, indited with more than her usual servility of expression.

It will be observed that she brings in the word *blest* oddly enough, to make the reader think that it was used as an ironical substitute for its antithesis :—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE LADY MARLBOROUGH.

(*Under the names of Morley and Freeman.*)

[1702.] “St. James’s, Saturday¹ [24th of October].

“I am very glad to find, by my dear Mrs. Freeman’s that I was *blest* with yesterday, that she liked my speech; but I cannot help being extremely concerned you are so partial to the whigs, because I would not have you and your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley differ in opinion in the least thing.

“What I said, when I writ last upon this subject, does not proceed from the insinuations of the other part; but I know the principles of the church of England, and I know also those of the whigs, and it is that, and no other reason, which makes me think as I do of the last. And upon my word, my dear Mrs. Freeman, you are mightily mistaken in your notion of a true whig, for the character you give of them does not in the least belong to them, but to the church. But I will say no more on the subject, but only beg, for my poor sake, that you would not show more countenance to those you seem to have so much inclination for, than for the church party.

“Since you have staid so long at Windsor, I wish now, for your own sake, that you would stay till after lord mayor’s day (Oct. 29²); for if you are in town, you can’t avoid going to the show, and being in the country is a just excuse; and I think one would be glad of any, to avoid so troublesome a *bis-ness*. I am at this time in great haste, and therefore can say no more to my dear, dear Mrs. Freeman, but that I am most passionately hers.”

The “troublesome” business alluded to by her majesty was the grand civic dinner, attended by herself and the prince on lord mayor’s day, which was accompanied by the utmost pomp and state. Lady Marlborough was evidently too great and delicate a lady to endure the welcome of the citizens, and was thus given an opportunity of absenting herself. Lord Marlborough had succeeded in the capture of some towns in Flanders, at the head of the allied armies. It is certain that his progress was in favorable contrast to the disastrous campaigns of William III.; yet the queen’s design of enriching him and raising him to a dukedom was decidedly premature. These intentions evidently emanated from her majesty’s previous magnificent promises to

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 129. The duchess makes out the date of the month in the course of her comments, by observing that the 24th of October fell on a Saturday.

² Lord mayor’s day, old style.

her favorites; when oppressed by her inimical sister, she declared that a "*sunshine* day would one day come for them." Lord Marlborough returned from his campaign in November, and, on the 28th of the same month, the queen put into execution her plans regarding his dukedom. Her majesty's hurry to remunerate the Marlboroughs for all they had done, suffered, or lost in her behalf, almost defeated its own object; she forgot that her uncle, Lawrence earl of Rochester, whose honest vigilance had detected the inroads made on her income when she was princess, was at the head of affairs. In pursuance of her intention, her majesty sent a message to the house of commons, declaring "that it was her pleasure to create lord Marlborough a duke; she therefore requested a pension of 5000*l.* per annum might be secured to *him and his heirs* from the post-office." Sir Charles Hedges brought the queen's message into the house, signed with her hand. When the royal pleasure was announced, a pause so deep ensued in the house of commons, that the speaker,¹ Mr. Harley, rose, and looked about him, to ascertain who meant to break the portentous silence.² Sir Edward Seymour was the man, and, after warm debates, the queen's request was respectfully denied, on the plea "that lord Marlborough's services, although considerable, had been sufficiently rewarded, and that the dangerous custom of the preceding reign in alienating the crown-revenues for favored individuals ought to be avoided."³ The queen returned the following extraordinary answer to this remark:—

"I shall always think myself much concerned to reward those who deserve well of me and the public. On this account, I bestowed some favors on the duke of Marlborough, and am glad to find you think them well placed."⁴

From this circumstance may be dated the lifelong animosity that the duchess of Marlborough manifested to the tory party, in whose ranks she and her husband had been reckoned since their well-known expulsion from court in the year 1691-92. A saying, at the same time, went forth

¹ Robert Harley, elected speaker October 20th, that year.

² Ralph, in his *Other Side of the Question*, 194-199. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.*

among the populace, "that the queen meant to give to one duke [of Marlborough] all the gold gained at Vigo by the other duke [of Ormonde],"—alluding to the recent victory and spoils taken there by Ormonde and admiral Rooke.

The queen and her new grace of Marlborough were in consternation at the turn affairs had taken in parliament. In hopes of somewhat soothing the rage of the duchess against the tories, her majesty wrote to her, the same day that the commons refused the bill, the following offer of endowment from her privy-purse. The note is without date, but the occurrence took place December 16, 1702.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.¹

(*Under the names of Morley and Freeman.*)

"I cannot be satisfied with myself without doing something towards making up what has been so maliciously hindered in parliament, and therefore I desire my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman [the duchess and duke of Marlborough] would be so kind as to accept of two thousand pounds a year out of the privy-purse, *beside* the grant of five.² This can excite no envy, for nobody need know it. Not that I would disown what I give to people that deserve, especially where 'tis impossible to reward the deserts; but you may keep it as a secret or not, as you please. I beg my dear Mrs. Freeman would never any way give me an answer to this, only comply with the desires of your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, that loves you most tenderly, and is, with the sincerest passion imaginable,

"Yours."

The letter and donation failed to satisfy the enraged duchess, who refused the compensation of 2000*l.* per annum with scorn. The refusal was, however, but to distress the queen, and furnish matter for perpetual reproaches, since, years afterwards, when immensely rich, she insisted on the pension with all its arrears.

After the pecuniary disappointment, the queen had little peace: either in her hours of retirement, or on solemn occasions of state, she was liable to the most violent vituperation from the woman she had raised, to use that person's *own* words, "from the dust," to be her scourge and punishment. The duchess of Marlborough kept no measures with the

¹ Coxe's, *Life of Marlborough*, vol. i. p. 208.

² The queen must mean, *instead* of the intended grant of five thousand pounds per annum, for that had been positively refused by the commons.

queen, in fact, either in writing or speaking of her or to her. While the tories were in power she constantly abused them as enemies, and reviled the queen as their accomplice, until, strengthened by the great victories obtained by her husband, in the succeeding year she effected their expulsion,¹ and the queen fell into her hands "a crowned slave," as her majesty afterwards pathetically called herself.

The vexation occasioned by the queen's hasty and premature attempt to acquit herself of the obligations daily vaunted to her by her imperious mistress of the robes did not distract her mind from the benevolent duties of her reign. The firm establishment of Greenwich Hospital was at this period one of her cares. "Her majesty and his royal highness prince George commanded that the model of Greenwich Hospital should be brought to St. James's, and were pleased to view the same, and highly approved of the intention and government of this noble foundation, designed for the maintenance of disabled seamen. And her majesty has recommended the passing some proper bill this session for the further support thereof; and if the bill pass, it will soon be in a state to admit seamen disabled in her service."²

The following letter, hitherto inedited, was written by queen Anne to her cofferer, sir Benjamin Bathurst. Although a simple, business-like communication, its tone does her honor:—

QUEEN ANNE TO SIR BENJAMIN BATHURST.

"Windsor, June 8.

"I received yours yesterday, and should be very glad if Potvin would bring down y^t part of my bed he shewed you; but as for y^e confectioner you mention, I do not *approve* of him, for I will never take any bodys servant from them, tho they seem never soe willing to it. Therefore I desire you would look out for some other, or if you could meet with a woman y^t *dos* those kind of things well, I had rather have one than a man, w^{ch} is all I have to say. but y^t I am your very affectionate friend,

"ANNE."³

¹ Somerville's Reign of Queen Anne, vol. i. p. 32.

² English Post, December 16, 1702.

³ Most courteously communicated by the lady Georgiana Bathurst, to whom our grateful acknowledgments are offered.

Few sovereigns, perhaps, would have allowed themselves to be restrained from acquiring a desirable servant by the reverence here paid by queen Anne to that excellent clause in the tenth commandment which prohibits us from coveting our neighbors' servants any more than their goods,—a clause which the selfishness of human nature rendered peculiarly necessary, and which too many matrons in private life scruple not to be guilty of the sin of violating, although nothing can be more disgracefully mean than the practice of disturbing the peace and disarranging the household comforts of others, by seducing their domestics from their engagements by the tempting offer of higher wages. The queen, moreover, in this little characteristic billet, shows a trait which is very well worthy of consideration by those desirous for the well-being and good government of the lower classes,—points of statistics which are at present so painfully pressing on the attention of our rulers, that all persons ought conscientiously to give their individual aid in their own domestic arrangements. The queen, who, whatsoever were her faults, was admirable in her practical kindness to the working-classes, dislikes that a man should be employed in the office of confectioner, because a woman can serve as well in that department. The queen's example is a very good one, and deserves consideration by those who employ men-servants in many offices that are better suited to the strength and capacity of women. The higher classes do so from the supposition that it is more consonant with their dignity; wealthy persons sedulously imitate them, and many of the middle classes follow an example they can ill afford. Let all remember how very few modes of gaining a livelihood remain to a destitute woman of any degree; when the laundry, the needle, in-door service, and tuition are mentioned, all is said. Let, then, the ladies of the British empire consider, that if they in any way circumscribe this very short list by employing men in household offices which the weaker sex can perform, they deprive women of their virtuous subsistence, and thereby drive them to want,—the strong temptation to wickedness; and if the

mothers and daughters of the poor become utterly degraded and corrupted by reason of unpitied misery, their infants will be reared in defiance of good, and in devotion to evil. Tremendous will be the reaction on society in general, a truth there is no occasion to dwell on, for it is widely acknowledged; yet the evil is more universally known than any remedy. But if our fair contemporaries will follow the example, in this instance, of her who was not undeservedly called by the populace their "good queen Anne," they will go very far in ameliorating such wrong.

The enormous settlement of 100,000*l.* per annum was given prince George of Denmark for life,¹ and with remainder in case he survived the queen, by the parliament of 1702, to which was added a grant of the palace at Winchester. It was supposed that the prince-consort received this high pecuniary compensation in lieu of the distinction he might have claimed as husband of the queen-regnant. Among the debates relative to the income of the prince of Denmark, sir Stephen Fox very gravely asserted "*that fifty thousand pounds was sufficient for the income of the prince of Denmark, because his grandeur would not be expensive to him, as her majesty would provide him with lodgings, bed, wax-light, and all the expenses of food and housekeeping.*"² It seems that the propriety of giving prince George the title of king for life, with continuation of the high offices he held in case of the death of the queen, was urged rather warmly by the personal friends of the queen, it is supposed at her instigation, but all further privilege, save the increase of income, was ultimately rejected by parliament.³

The petty and peevish complaints with which the duchess of Marlborough continued to torment the queen will sufficiently appear from her letters, on one of which the duchess comments in the following words:—⁴ "In this letter she attempts to excuse what, some time ago, she would

¹ Calamy's Diary, vol. ii.

² Cunningham's History of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 312.

³ Coxe, vol. i. p. 210; likewise Burnet.

⁴ Coxe's Papers, vol. xlv. fol. 149; Fragments, inedited.

have thought inexcusable,—such neglects as are inconsistent with love and friendship :”—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

“I think I need not say anything more to yours of Saturday, but that I do not, nor ever will, deserve such unjust thoughts as you have of your faithful Morley, who would be glad to see you to-night at eight, or any other evening, as it is easier for yourself.”

Thus the time and thoughts of the queen-regnant of the British empire were almost exclusively occupied with the degrading and irksome employment of soothing into tolerable humor a domestic tyrant, who exacted from her royal mistress servile attention to her looks, her health, her goings out, and comings in. Four notes every day made the average of the queen's task of writing to her humorsome attendant.¹ The following was an attempt of the unfortunate queen to explain away some fancied neglect of inquiry after the duchess's return from the sea-coast, whither she had accompanied her husband on his leaving England, in March, 1703, for his second Flemish campaign :—

THE QUEEN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

“Monday night.

“Just as I came from basset,² I received my dear Mrs. Freeman's letter, and though it is very late, I cannot content myself without thanking you for it. I hope by this time you have seen lord treasurer, and then you will see how innocent I am of one complaint, and so I think I am in all the others; for as for my not saying anything to you on the D. of M.'s letter, I did not think it necessary, nor you would not neither at any other time. And as to not inquiring after you the first time you came from Margate, how was it possible, not hearing of it till just as I was going out of town myself? I shall dine at St. James's, an it please God, to-morrow, and shall be very glad to see you there when I am alone; and be assured, whenever you will be the same to me as you was five years ago, you shall find me the same tender

“MORLEY.”

The game of basset, mentioned by the queen in the commencement of this note, occupied, as in her young days, a considerable portion of her majesty's time and thoughts, and broke into her hours by day as well as by night. At the basset-table the players sat so closely crowded round

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

² The gambling game so called.

queen Anne, that she could scarcely "put her hand in her pocket,"¹ an obligation not unfrequent, since her majesty was usually unfortunate at play.

The irksomeness of the slavery of making up affronts, and soothing the self-esteem of the haughty duchess, had not as yet made any alteration in the humble and caressing style of the queen, whose next letter is more self-abasing than ever.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

[May, 1703.]

"It is now so late, that I can only thank you for your letter, and congratulate the duke of Marlborough's being well after the siege of Bon,² which is more pleasing news to me than all the conquests he can make.

"May God Almighty, that has preserved him hitherto through many dangers, continue to do so, and send him safe home to his and my dear *adored* Mrs. Freeman."

The allowance of the queen's privy-purse was 20,000*l.* per annum; "not half the sum of king William's," observes the duchess of Marlborough, who, having the management of it, was most intimate with its contents. "It was very little, considering how many pensions were paid out of it, and how great a charge, settled by custom; there were the queen's bounties, play-money, *healing-gold*,³ and charities. The queen was pleased to give me, as soon as she came to the crown, the rangership of the Great and Little parks at Windsor, which are the same that Mr. May enjoyed many years, and afterwards the earl of Portland. The house is an agreeable place to live in, and her majesty was pleased to give it to me of herself, remembering, that when she was princess, I had wished mightily for such a lodge, as we rid by it to take the air. The lodge in the little park was no better, at that time, than such as the under-keepers live in. I gave it to a brother of the duke of Marlborough for his life."⁴ The queen continued to

¹ Duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum, inedited.

² Bon capitulated May $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1703. Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 1.

³ It may be observed how very soon *healing-gold* is named in the enumeration of the queen's privy-purse expenses.

⁴ Letter to Mr. Hutchinson from the duchess; inedited Coxe MSS., Brit. Mus.

urge the duchess of Marlborough, by letters and conversation, to take the annuity of 2000*l.* per annum from the privy-purse, and "lay it up to buy something with." It was not the pleasure or policy of the duchess to do so. Yet, when she drew the proceeds of the queen's privy-purse, through the hands of Mr. Coggs, goldsmith in the Strand, opposite to St. Clement's church (who acted as her majesty's banker), it was very evident that these two thousand pounds were not appropriated to the royal expenditure. The places the queen had given to the duchess of Marlborough, according to that lady's own account, amounted to the great annual income of 5600*l.*: they were only the same offices which she had performed for the queen, when princess, at a yearly salary of 400*l.* The queen, it seems, was not liberal in presents, which, after the mighty masses of money she bestowed, cannot excite surprise. The duchess of Marlborough finally demanded and pocketed the great donation of 2000*l.* per annum, besides portions for her daughters to the amount of 30,000*l.*; nevertheless, she murmured because the queen never gave her a "diamond, or a fan, while she served her, but only the remainder of some baskets of fruit and red deer, some seals of king William's, and an old harpsichord," which, she adds, "is the only thing I ever asked whilst in her service. This I obtained with some difficulty, it being at the time when Abigail Hill was a concealed favorite, and it happened to be lent or given to her, which I did not then know."¹ Indeed, it seems to have been a customary proceeding for the queen to offer anything to the duchess of Marlborough that she seemed to desire, from great masses of thousands of guineas to mere trifling articles, the objects of female admiration. The haughty favorite *always* refused the queen's presents strenuously, her self-esteem not permitting her to acknowledge any obligation. But, in course of reflection on the subject, avarice never failed ultimately to obtain the victory over pride, and she

¹ Letter to Mr. Hutchinson from the duchess; Inedited Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum. The musical tastes of Abigail were remarkable, and with them the gift of this harpsichord was connected: the queen herself was fond of music.

was *sure* to demand the gift she had positively refused, to the queen's great inconvenience; for if, after a lapse of ten or fifteen years, it had been presented to some one else, and could not be reclaimed, her royal mistress had to undergo a series of reproaches for such offences.

The duchess records a most apt illustration of her caprices in refusing the queen's gifts, and yet laying claim to them when years had passed away:—"Another time, indeed, upon my commending very much a japan box, which her sister, the princess of Orange, had sent her, worth about 20*l.*, she would needs give it to me; yet I did not *then* accept it, but said, 'it was too pretty for her to part with.' However, fifteen years after, when it had never appeared, but was buried, as I thought, with many other things which she used to keep in a wardrobe, I told her, after she was queen, 'that I was now grown less modest, and if she would give me *that box*, which she was formerly pleased to offer me, and which I found she did not use, I should be much pleased with it.' The queen said, 'I should have it,' but never gave it to me."¹ How the poor queen could be expected to remember the particulars respecting "that box," for fifteen years together, and with the cares of empire recently devolving on her inexperienced head, is a marvel. One inference is certain, that the person whose mind could dwell among such small rubbish while dynasties were tottering and empires crashing around her, had no such mighty intellect as it has pleased biographers to assert of the Marlborough duchess. How could she have possessed a mind above mediocrity, when it was perpetually occupied with the petty acquisitions of chambermaids and lodging-keepers? The minute particulars of the domestic martyrdom that queen Anne endured from her palace-tyrant are only recorded by the pen of the inflictor: it says enough!

The audacious woman proceeds boldly to describe, in the midst of her exculpations from public accusations of selling places and peerages, her success in her project of making a

¹ Letter to Mr. Hutchinson from the duchess; inedited Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

peer of Great Britain,—an hereditary senator, truly, made by *her*! the privilege being often carped at when exercised by regal authority. “I was confident the queen thought the house of lords so numerous, that she would make none [viz., new peers]; but that if ever she did, I would certainly speak for the making of my lord Harvey. I have a letter from his wife, which shows that it was not for money, as the report went, but to perform a promise I had made to sir Thomas Felton, when the queen first came to the crown.”¹ The intrigue relative to lord Harvey’s peerage occurred while the duchess of Marlborough was in retirement from court, on account of her affliction for the death of her only son, lord Blandford. Like her royal mistress, she too had been, by a sudden stroke, deprived of him who was to carry down and perpetuate all the honors and emoluments which their patriotic labors in the stormy field of revolution had harvested for them. Queen Anne, who knew best whence the political falsehood which branded her brother as an impostor emanated, had shuddered, and acknowledged the justice of her bereavement when she lost Gloucester, her only one. Again the queen was startled, as if the coincidence were more than accidental, when she saw her partner in the iniquity likewise deprived, in the midst of her exulting maternity, of her promising heir. The grief of the duchess could not have been very great, if the evidence of her own words may be trusted; for she was roused from its indulgence by the distant tocsin of party warfare, to set all engines of intrigue at work to wring from her unwilling mistress the boon of making—a whip peer. In her manuscript this passage is to be found:—“When the queen came to the resolution of making the four peers, I happened to be in the country, in great afflictions upon the death of my only son. However, having heard of it accidentally, I writ to my lord Godolphin, ‘that if lord Harvey was not made a peer with them, I neither could or would show my face any more.’ This accordingly was done, purely at my desire and on my

¹ Inedited MS. of the duchess of Marlborough; Coxe’s Papers, vol. xliv., Brit. Museum.

account.”¹ The queen was forced to yield to the impotency of her domestic ruler, but not without a struggle, as may be seen in the foregoing correspondence. Lord Harvey knew not one word of what was in agitation, if the maker of his peerage may be believed, “until a messenger was sent from the queen to him, saying, ‘that lord Harvey must come to the back-stairs on such a day, to kiss the queen’s hand for being made a peer.’”²

The regnal history of queen Anne retains some traces of the now forgotten custom of sceptring acts of parliament; but it was only in connection with her authority as queen of Scotland, and was performed by commission. Early in her reign, some years before the Union, lord Tarbut wrote to queen Anne, May 8, 1703, to tender his resignation of secretary of Scotland, in displeasure at some immunities given to the Presbyterians there, which he had supposed would not have been done in her reign. His words imply that the deed was not wholly ratified, as her sceptre of Scotland had not yet given it legal vitality. “I will not venture to give judgment on it now. Your majesty’s authority is recognized in the first act, and touched by the royal sceptre, and *so is law*; the last is passed in parliament, but not yet touched, nor the other ratifying presbyterian government, but waits your majesty’s commissioner *to give them the touch*.”³ All classic readers will remember the sacredness of the sceptres of the kings in the Iliad, and it might be thought that the Scotch, who drew their cruel national laws from the Romans, had been to the Greeks for their sceptring⁴ ceremonies; but it was a regnal

¹ Inedited MS. of the duchess of Marlborough; Coxe’s Papers, vol. xlv., Brit. Museum.

² MSS. Coxe, vol. xlv.; letter to Mr. Hutchinson from the duchess of Marlborough, inedited. Compare the passage in the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, where this fine intrigue is cautiously mentioned, and the fresh information relative to the queen (in the inedited portion printed in the text) will be ascertained.

³ Sir Henry Ellis’s Historical Letters, second series, vol. iii.; reign of Anne.

⁴ A very scarce tract, containing some printed speeches of the members of the Scottish convention parliament in 1703, with which lord Hopetoun has favored us, casts some light on this custom. “By the constitution of this kingdom, no act of the estates (of Scotland) had the force of a law *unless touched by the*

custom in England as well as Scotland, for a slight but indisputable notice of it occurs in the parliamentary journals after the coronation of Mary I. No notice exists of this picturesque act of regality, that we can find, excepting in the annals of these queens-regnant of England and Scotland, for lord Tarbut's letter refers to the ceremonial as done in behalf of Anne *queen of Scotland*, not Anne queen of Great Britain. Since the accession of James I., the island sovereigns had been titular kings and queens of Great Britain, but the island was only united in name. Her majesty had resided, some months in her youth, in her good kingdom of Scotland; yet she never visited it during her reign, neither was her presence ever desired there apparently, even by the slightest token conveyed in the Scottish lyrics.

The most dismal storm that ever ravaged the earth occurred at the decline of the year 1703. The queen was then at her palace of St. James, and was eye-witness to the extraordinary desolation of the park, where ancient trees, of historical celebrity, were laid low before her eyes.¹ Among others, the group planted by the children of James I., near the passage of the Horse-guards,—those trees which awoke a tender reminiscence in the breast of Charles I., who, when he was marching across the park on the morning of his death, said to his newly-found friend, colonel Tomlinson, pointing to one of them, "That tree was planted by my brother Henry."² The storm began on the evening of November 26th, and raged without intermission until the next morning,—not like a winter tempest, but attended with peals of thunder and vivid flashes of lightning. The leads of most of the churches in London were rolled up by the power of the wind, like scrolls. The Thames was choked at London bridge with boats and barges dashed

king's sceptre, which was his undoubted prerogative. The touch of his sceptre gave authority to our laws, as his stamp did to our coin." All the speeches are addressed to the lord chancellor.—Speeches by a Member of Parliament which began at Edinburgh the 6th of May, 1703. Edinburgh, printed in the year 1703.

¹ Congreve Correspondence; Bromley Collection.

² Pennant's London.

together. The severity of the storm set against the south and west of England; the north scarcely felt it. Sixteen of the largest ships of the navy were wrecked and utterly lost, with all on board. Many tempests cause great devastations on the sea-coast that do no mischief inland; but this swept the interior of the southern and western counties with the besom of destruction. Whole families were crushed under their own roofs, and multitudes of people killed and wounded. Among the most remarkable accidents of the kind, was the fall of a stack of antique chimneys in the episcopal palace of Bath and Wells, which killed the bishop and his lady, Dr. and Mrs. Kidder, in their bed.

When the news reached queen Anne of the tragical death of the intruding bishop of Bath and Wells, she determined to restore the see to its ejected bishop, Ken. A nobleman (supposed to be his friend lord Weymouth) intimated to him, by her majesty's orders, "that he was to return to his diocese, without any oaths being required or any questions asked of him, just as if he had merely left his palace on a long journey." The true bishop of souls replied, "that he was an old man, stricken with years and infirmity, and overborne with hard work;¹ but if it were permitted him to resign his charge to a faithful son of the church of England, who had already taken the oaths to the daughters of James II., he would cheerfully lay down his pastoral staff as one o'erwearied." It was further intimated, that the primacy was meant for him by the queen. Ken had too much wisdom to be tempted with the promise. He said, "he felt that his sole worldly business was to perfect his resignation to his chosen successor, Dr. Hooper, dean of Canterbury, his friend, whose principles he had known since they were both thirteen years of age." Our readers will remember Hooper as chaplain to Mary II., when prin-

¹ To quote the words of one of his biographers, "He had, in the midst of his poverty, performed all the spiritual duties of his diocese. The people of the west almost adored him, because of his noble and courageous resistance of the slaughters of the monster Kirke, in Monmouth's rebellion. He saved the lives of hundreds."

cess of Orange, and afterwards appointed by her to the deanery of Canterbury, to the great anger of her husband.

If the character of our bishop Ken could shine brighter, it was on account of his admirable moderation in nominating a successor who had complied with the times, rather than one who was a nonjuror like himself; but he was more anxious for the Christian welfare of the souls committed to the guidance of his pastoral staff than for the gratification of partisans. Dr. Hooper had complied with the Revolution as conscientiously as his friend Ken had renounced it.¹

¹ Dr. Ken always said that God, by his misfortunes, had preserved him from a death very horrible to human contemplation; since, if he had not been ejected from his episcopal palace, he should have been crushed to death in the great storm, as Dr. Kidder was, because, when resident at Wells palace, he had always occupied the same chamber. Like most persons who struggle to keep the middle path between furious extremes, Dr. Ken had been calumniated by fanatics, and was sometimes assailed by a "no-popery" howl. Although he knew that the Roman Catholics were as inimical to his doctrine as were his revilers of the low church, such attacks disturbed not the serene and studious life he led, after he had consigned his pastoral staff to the hands of the friend of his youth, Hooper, who, he was rejoiced to observe, became infinitely beloved throughout the great western diocese. Dr. Ken, as before, spent his winters in Salisbury close, under the roof of his dutiful nephew, the Rev. Isaac Walton (the son of his sister and the well-known and excellent author, Isaac Walton); summer he passed among the shades of Longleat, the seat of lord Weymouth. The welcome visit of death met our Ken at Longleat,—welcome, for he was a great sufferer from ill health, or rather, it ought to be said, from frequent bodily torture, arising from a dire malady. In the cessation from paroxysms very hard to bear, he soothed his mind by the composition of divine poetry. He is one of the most inspired lyrists of our church, and his poems, only found in the libraries of old loyal church-of-England families, have furnished a mine of sweet lays and thoughts to some members of our church in these days. Before Ken expired, he thus expressed his faith:—"I die," he said, "in the holy and apostolic faith professed by the Christian church before the disunion of the East and West. More particularly, I die in the communion of the church of England, as it stands distinguished from all papal and puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the cross." If the egotism may be forgiven the sisters who have written these Lives (who have been calumniated by the same sect that persecuted Ken), they say, likewise, such is and has been their belief, and may God give them grace to die in it!

The room, at Longleat, where Ken died is still shown. It is said that he put on his shroud before he expired, and then composed himself for the sleep of death, "not out of any superstition," as he observed, "but from the wish that my remains might go to the grave just as God had left them." Ken was attended to his humble grave in the parish church-yard by true and simple-hearted mourners,—the children from the village school he had established and taught. These

When queen Anne had, with great joy, confirmed a bishop of Hooper's known loyalty to her in the episcopal see of Bath and Wells, the abdicating prelate celebrated the event by a poem, of which these lines are a fragment :—¹

“ Forced from my flock, I daily saw with tears,
A stranger's ravage two sabbatic years ;
But I forbear to tell the dreadful stroke,
Which freed my sheep from the Erastian yoke.
Yet Heaven was superfluently kind,
In sending them a pastor to my mind,
In whom my spirit feels the like repose,
As old Valerius when he Austin chose.”

After Dr. Ken had resigned his bishopric to Dr. Hooper, he signed himself “ Thomas, *late* bishop of Bath and Wells.” Nothing could induce him to discontinue his episcopal signature till that time. It is to the honor of queen Anne that she settled on the old man a pension of 200*l.* per annum, which he thankfully accepted, as it was clogged with no conditions which his conscience rejected.

The seas were scarcely tranquillized after “ the great storm,” when the fleet of the rival candidate for the throne of Spain, Charles of Austria, appeared off the western coast ; and as he was on his way to take possession of his kingdom, to which queen Anne had sent succors in support of his claims, he wished to pay his respects in person to her. The queen immediately despatched her master of the horse, the duke of Somerset, to Portsmouth, to receive the royal stranger on his arrival at Spithead, December 26, 1703. The duke went on board Charles of Austria's ship,

little ones followed the earthly remains of their beloved pastor and friend in silence and tears. He was buried at dawn of day ; and just as the last spade of earth had been cast upon his coffin the sun rose, and the children, with one voice, burst forth into that holy and familiar strain, “ Awake, my soul, and with the sun” (the Morning Hymn, written by the departed prelate), which closed his obsequies. He died March 19, 1711.

Dr. Hooper died at Berkeley, on September 6, 1727, in the 87th year of his age ; he was born at Grimsby, Worcestershire, November, 1646. He was interred in Wells cathedral. Both of these prelates had been domestic chaplains in Holland to Mary II., when princess of Orange. Hooper entertained a higher opinion of her than did Ken, who lived with her when she was three years advanced in life.

¹ Biographia Britannica.

and delivered to him "a compliment," and a letter from queen Anne, informing him "that she had come to Windsor castle, in order that he might more conveniently pay her the visit he had given her reason to hope for." As the duke of Somerset occasionally resided at Petworth, his seat on the coast, he invited Charles of Austria to repose there until the prince-consort arrived, who had undertaken to escort him to the presence of queen Anne. Prince George of Denmark appears to have set out for Petworth from Windsor castle December 27th, expecting to arrive there in a few hours, the distance being only forty miles; but the roads—then guiltless of tolls or toll-gates—were in a deplorable state. He was fourteen hours travelling that distance, the last nine miles occupying six hours. "This was the more singular," observes one of the Danish gentlemen of his household,¹ who records the fact, "since the prince made not any stop on the road, excepting when his coach was overthrown or stuck in the mud. Thrice was his royal highness's carriage overturned in the course of the said nine miles, and never should we have arrived at our journey's end, if, in the deep close lanes, the nimble Sussex boors had not walked on each side of his royal highness's coach, bearing it up with their hands by main strength." Great contrast is offered in this narrative to the present state of travelling; only, to be sure, people did get up again with their heads on after a roll in the Sussex mud, which is not always the case after a railway collision.

Charles of Austria had, perhaps, met with a similar series of mischances in his progress to princely Petworth, for he arrived there just at the same hour of the night as George of Denmark. One day's repose for rest and refreshment was needful, both for the prince of Denmark and his guest. They set out from thence for Windsor on the 29th of December, and they had comparatively a favorable journey, not being overturned more than once every dozen miles in their progress thither. At what hour they arrived at the regal towers, where queen Anne kept court, is not noted; but they were received by torch-light, and supper, not

¹ Letter quoted in the third volume of Ellis's *Historical Letters*.

dinner, is mentioned as their refection.¹ The duke of Northumberland, constable of Windsor castle, the duke of St. Alban's,² captain of the guard of pensioners, and the marquess of Hartington, captain of the yeoman-guard, received Charles of Austria at his alighting out of his coach. The earl of Jersey, lord chamberlain, lighted him to the stair-head, where queen Anne herself came in person to welcome him. Charles of Austria made an elaborate compliment to her majesty, acknowledging his great obligations to her for her generous protection and assistance. He then led her to her bedchamber, for such was the royal etiquette at that time,—only one would wonder by what intuition he found it, for it was improbable that he could understand the queen's French, the only language in which they could confer. However, the royal party, consisting of queen Anne, the prince-consort, and Charles of Austria, actually did arrive at the queen's bedchamber, for it is noted that they made some short stay there. The next formality was, that prince George escorted his guest to his sleeping apartment, but only for temporary repose; many other ceremonials, as tedious as the Chinese prostrations of welcome, were still to be perpetrated. Charles of Austria supped the same night in state with queen Anne; her majesty gave her royal guest the right hand at table, and there was a long and tiresome contest of courtesy before he would receive this honor. Prince George sat at the end of the table, on the queen's left side. Another formal procession took place, of escorting the tired guest to his bedchamber, where he was at last left in peace to his own attendants, for the purpose of proceeding with that rigid code of etiquette, which is inevitable before a Spanish monarch can rest his head on his pillow. The next day was to be considered the public one, and all parties rose with the intention of going through a second series of formalities.

As Charles of Austria received timely notice that queen Anne meant to return his visit at his own apartments, he

¹ London Gazette, December 30 to January 3, 1703.

² Both illegitimate sons of Charles II.

came to receive her majesty at her drawing-room door. It seems that it was reckoned good manners to prevent her from taking the trouble of visiting him, and a most elaborate series of compliments and protestations forthwith took place. At last queen Anne, who scorned to be outdone by either Austrian or Spaniard on the point of etiquette, persisted in her intention, and paid her visit in her guest's apartments, from whence he led her majesty to a grand state-dinner, which was as public as a state-dinner at Windsor castle, in the dark days at Christmas, can be. A choice concert, vocal and instrumental, was performed.¹ The evening was spent in music and other diversions,—basset, of course, being the principal.

Labor dire and weary woe must the lengthy entertainment have proved, from the dinner-hour of the royal Anne, three in the afternoon, till after supper; for to supper they all went before the day's hospitalities terminated. When the latter meal was at last concluded, the grand scene of Spanish courtesy took place, and that, indeed, had an air of long-departed chivalry. Her majesty had presented, as part of the high ceremonial of the public day, several ladies of the highest rank to the Spanish claimant, who took the privilege of his regal station, and saluted them by kissing each in turn.² The more studied graces were reserved for the propitiation of the ostensible favorites, the duke and duchess of Marlborough. To the husband he presented his sword, with the rather touching observation, "that he had nothing worthier of his acceptance; for he was a poor prince, who had little more than his sword and his mantle." He, however, found a more valuable offering when the hour arrived, which he had devoted to win the good graces of the mighty duchess. When supper was finished, Charles of Austria, after another series of elaborate compliments, prevailed on the duchess of Marlborough to give him the napkin which it was her office to present to the queen, and he held it for her majesty when she washed her hands. At the moment of giving back the napkin to the duchess of Marlborough, he presented her with a superb diamond

¹ Postman, No. 1223, January 1, 1703-4.

² Ibid.

ring,—thus imitating the proceedings of his great predecessor and ancestor, the emperor Charles V., when he was a guest in France, who made a like offering to the duchess d'Estampes, the all-powerful favorite of Francis I., at the moment when she waited on him, after supper, with the ewer and basin. The emperor left the costly diamond ring in the basin for the duchess d'Estampes; his descendant, with more gallantry, pressed his on the finger of queen Anne's favorite.

Supper and its succeeding ceremonials being at last happily accomplished, Charles of Austria gave his hand to queen Anne, and led her to her bedchamber, where he made some stay, informing her majesty that it was his intention to depart early the next morning, and therefore he would take his leave that night. Prince George was ill, but meant to escort the Spanish claimant back to his ship at Portsmouth. This Charles positively refused to permit, in his state of health; but the prince insisted on attending him to his coach-side when he departed the next morning. The duke of Somerset was appointed by the queen to accompany her royal guest to Petworth, and then to Portsmouth, in the place of her consort, prince George.

Charles of Austria was scarcely seen in England, or by the English, in his dark December visit to the royal seclusion of Windsor. The queen, her consort, and the great officers of state only could judge of him; but the idea went forth that he was odd and dull.¹ A poet, of the party which spent oceans of blood and treasure in the struggle to gain for him the whole of Spain, does not characterize him very brilliantly in these lines:—

“An Austrian prince alone
Is fit to nod upon the Spanish throne.”

But an original miniature of Charles of Austria, the claimant of Spain, in possession of the countess-dowager of Cathcart, represents him as a handsome, elegant man, wearing the graceful national costume of Spain,—black velvet doublet, with slashed sleeves and point-lace collar.

¹ Dr. Garth.

The queen mentioned the visit of her ally and *protégé*, the rival majesty of Spain, in her speech at the meeting of her parliament on the 21st of the ensuing January, and the next day wrote the following holograph letter to her admiral, sir George Rooke :—

QUEEN ANNE TO SIR GEORGE ROOKE.¹

“St. James’s, Jan. 22, 1703–4.

“You having represented that the king of Spain seemed desirous, upon the first turn of the wind, to make the best of his way to Lisbon with such clean ships as shall be in readiness for that service, and this matter requiring the greatest secrecy, I think it proper to give you orders, in my own hand, to pay the same obedience to the king of Spain, as to the time and manner of his setting sail, and as to the number of ships which shall be in readiness to attend him, as you would do to myself.

“I am, your very affectionate friend,

“ANNE, R.”

Endorsed.—“To Sir George Rooke. Found among the papers of lord Dudley (sir George Rooke’s representative).”

A second holograph letter, written throughout by the hand of Anne, and showing sympathy for some family affliction that had befallen her worthy officer, is likewise preserved; it is dateless.

QUEEN ANNE TO SIR GEORGE ROOKE.²

[*Original.*]

“I am so concerned for the great affliction that hath befallen, that I cannot forbear letting you know the compassion I have for you. I think you are of so great importance to my service, that if any assurance of my favor can help to support you under it, you may depend upon me.

“ANNE, R.”

The next birthday of queen Anne, February 6, 1703–4, was nobly celebrated by her message to the commons for finally settling her munificent gift to the church of ‘the first-fruits’ she had bestowed at her accession for the amplification of impoverished livings. The fund was incorporated by the house of commons, and measures taken to enable any other charitably-disposed individual to add bequests to the queen’s foundation.³ The circumstance is

¹ MS. Addit. 5015, f. 15.

² Bib. Birch. 4163, No. 3.

³ Journals of the House of Commons, quoted in Somerville’s History of Great Britain under Queen Anne.

thus mentioned by one of her contemporary historians:—¹ “The queen’s birthday, February 6th, in the year 1703–4, fell on Sunday. It was kept with more than usual solemnity the next day, when her majesty, desiring to celebrate her nativity by an act of benevolence, sent a message to the house of commons, ‘that it was her wish to remit “the first-fruits,” which she had a right to claim from the church, for the benefit of the scantily-endowed clergy, and that she prayed the commons to find a way to make her gift legal.’ The queen forthwith received the thanks of parliament, of the convocations of the clergy of the *two provinces*, Canterbury and York, and of the clergy of every diocese in England.” The annual income of ‘queen Anne’s Bounty,’ as it is emphatically termed, amounted at the end of the last century, to £11,000 per annum.²

As her majesty’s birthday fell on the Sunday, she received the usual compliments on the occasion when, on the Monday following, she held a splendid court. Dryden’s play, *All for Love, or Antony and Cleopatra*, was acted before her majesty at St. James’s, in the presence of the court, by the chief tragedians of both houses.³ But where was the theatre of the palace of St. James? All the great banqueting-halls of the English palaces, such as Westminster hall, Inigo Jones’s Whitehall, Wolsey’s hall at Hampton Court, had been and were occasionally used as theatres; but no remnant of any such building can be traced at St. James’s palace. It is true that it has suffered

¹ For further particulars on this important subject, we are happy to refer our readers to Palin’s *History of the Church of England from 1688 to 1717*.

² The *first-fruits* or first year’s whole profits of every benefice, and the *tenth*, or tenth part of its annual produce, according to a valuation made in the reign of Edward VI. The history of these dues to the crown carries us back to antiquity. It was originally a tax levied by papal authority on the beneficed clergy of England for the support of the crusades; it then was appropriated by the see of Rome, as part of the papal revenue. Great discontent ensued, on account of the solid money sent out of England to Rome; it was, in fact, one of those encroachments of which just complaints were made. Henry VIII. excused much of his rapacity, by affecting to restore this property to the church; but directly he considered the church of Rome was overthrown in England, he obtained, says Blackstone, “an act of parliament for transferring the first-fruits to the royal revenue.”—Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, late edition, vol. i. p. 286.

³ *Postman and Daily Courant*, February 7 and 8, 1704; *Brit. Museum*.

various devastations by fire since the days of Anne. It is, besides, possible that some or other of the corridor courts were, in the old Shakspearian style, converted into temporary theatres. The actors, her majesty's servants, who had hastened from her great theatres to divert their royal mistress, performed next day for the entertainment of her loving lieges. "On the 8th of February," they announced, "will be represented the tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, out of compliment to prince George: singing by Mrs. Leveridge." She was, it may be presumed, the Ophelia of the night. "Likewise some sonatas on the violin by signor Gasperini, and several new entertainments of dancing, which were performed yesterday [February 7, 1703-4], before her majesty at St. James's, by monsieur de Revel, monsieur Cherrier, Mrs. Mayers, and others."¹ Many other advertisements of the kind, mentioning performances of her majesty's servants in her royal presence at St. James's, prove that queen Anne went not to the play, but that the play came to her. Another species of entertainment, introduced by her aunt, Catharine of Braganza, and continued by her, is thus notified:—"These are to give notice, that the tickets of the subscription-music in York buildings, delivered out for Monday, April 24th, will serve for April 26th, by reason of an entertainment at the court."² That is, the queen, who did not honor the York buildings subscription concert with her royal presence, had sent for her theatrical servants to perform before her at court; therefore the concert was postponed till after she had been waited on.

The final removal of the tory ministry from the councils of the queen was caused by the loss of the "occasional conformity bill," as it was called. The ministers of queen Anne considered that, to guard the church against the votes of the dissenters in the houses of parliament, it was needful to introduce a bill to prevent persons who only took the sacrament as a test to qualify themselves for office, or for seats in the commons, from returning to their practice as dissenters. The bill against occasional conformity

¹ Daily Courant, No. 631; Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

meant to enact, "that the persons taking the church-of-England sacrament must continue in all the observances of the established religion.—at least whilst they were in office, under penalty of 100*l.* on their first going to meeting, and 5*l.* forfeit for every day they held office afterwards."¹ It is supposed that prince George of Denmark, although he actually went to the house of lords and voted for it, was the cause wherefore the queen stood neuter in this measure; yet it was calculated to meet her exclusive partiality for the church. The prince was a Lutheran, and at the same time an occasional conformist, by assisting at the sacraments and services of the church of England; yet he had a Lutheran chapel and ministers. The bill included foreign Protestants in its penalties, with the exception of the dissenting worship of prince George, which was secured from interruption by the marriage-articles of the queen; still it was natural that he should have a fellow-feeling with those persons who received the sacrament as a measure of worldly expediency.

The most furious contests had taken place since the queen's accession relative to this measure; it was finally carried in the house of commons, and thrown out by the house of lords; and this dissension forced the queen to dissolve parliament, April 5, 1704. Without entering further into the stream of general political history, it is only necessary to observe, in illustration of Anne's personal life and conduct, that her uncle Rochester, the duke of Buckingham, lord Dartmouth, and the tory lords had previously withdrawn from office; and that, from the time of her majesty's opening the new parliament in October, 1704, her government and councils were principally swayed by the whig party, of which her imperious favorite, the duchess of Marlborough, was the leading and controlling spirit. It is likewise evident that her consort, prince George, being violently offended at the inquiry which the late tory ministers had made into the corruptions and robberies to which the navy had been subjected during his administration as lord high-admiral,² made common cause, whilst

¹ Somerville's *Reign of Queen Anne*, vol. i. p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

his life lasted, with the dominant party, whose own corruptions prevented any very vigilant examination into the peccadilloes of others. All real events combine to show that the prince was secretly the patron of the whigs, who lost office soon after they lost him.¹ General history asseverates that he was a high tory : the duchess of Marlborough knew better.

Early in her reign, queen Anne claimed that mysterious pretension to the power of healing which the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the middle ages asserted pertained to the immediate heirs of St. Edward who were anointed sovereigns of England. William the Conqueror and William the Hollander had equally repudiated the claim of healing the sick : they were too much occupied with killing those who were well. The uproarious sons of the Conqueror, Robert and Rufus, affected no share in the sacred mesmerism of their saintly predecessor. They manipulated the sword, the lance, and the wine-cup ; occasionally knocked healthy folk at head, but carefully eschewed the company of the sick. Their learned brother Henry, the Ulysses of the Norman dynasty, very wisely married a saint's niece and a saint's daughter, who brought with her something like a title to the throne ; but what was better, she renewed the old loving bond that subsisted between the Anglo-Saxon monarchs and the populace. Saintly queen Maude, or Matilda the Atheling, spent most of her time in rectifying and ameliorating the "new poor-laws" of the roistering Norman usurpers, who seem literally to have taken for their text, "that when men asked for bread, they gave them a stone;" fortunate it was for their Saxon subjects when they did not give them much worse. Chronicles speak of the washing and healing the wounds and sores of the poor by Matilda Atheling, but we can trace no imposition of hands. Her haughty heiress, Matilda the empress, would certainly have taken the tongs, if she had been obliged to touch a Saxon serf who was whole and well ; of course, she earnestly avoided them when sick and sore. Her warlike

¹ According to Calamy, prince George of Denmark was looked up to as the protector of the dissenters.

son, the first Plantagenet, does not appear to have been aware of any gift of healing that his person had inherited from his royal Saxon grand-dame; and as for his successor, the Lion's Heart, it is to be doubted that, if any Saxon serf had knelt to beg the imposition of the royal hand, the benediction would have been given with his weighty battle-axe. As for king John, who wanted "to make the penny loaf worth a shilling," the least said of his imposition of hands the better; his impositions being connected with what the old chroniclers call "pilling and polling," and "robbing and reiving" his subjects. But his son, the quaint, the original and peace-loving Henry III. (who seems to have been James I. by anticipation), found it good policy to cultivate the good-will of the Anglo-Saxon commonalty, and identify himself as the representative of their royal saint and beneficent legislator, Edward the Confessor. He rebuilt his abbey and renewed his shrine; he carried his coffin on his shoulders in the grand jubilee of his canonization; nor can there be a doubt that he revived or invented the royal saint's gift of healing.

The plan worked well for Henry: by the aid of the people, he brought, after half a century's struggle, his perverse barons to order. The Norman barons had clamored louder than their Saxon thralls for "the laws, the righteous laws of St. Edward," and had gained them at Runnymede; but, like the higher classes in the revolutions of the seventeenth century (particularly those in the reigns of the Stuart queens-regnant), they meant to keep them exclusively for their own benefit. Edward I., the name-child of his Saxon ancestor, although a destructive on an extensive scale, affected a good deal of St. Edward's piety: we suspect him of the policy of "healing by manipulation." He named three sons after the Saxon saints, St. Edward, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas à Becket. Edward II., the name-child of the popular Saxon king, would, poor soul, have been quiet if he could. He probably performed the healing-office, for he was beloved by the lower classes, and his only intelligible crime was making too free with them.

Now we come into a little glimmer of actual fact con-

nected with the mysterious office of royal healing. It seems that the kings of England, from the era of Edward I. to Edward III., kept an alchemist, Raymond Lully,¹ who *made* gold for them at the Tower. If we must acknowledge our wrong thoughts, we actually suspected that the warlike Plantagenets, being, like all conquerors, sinfully poor, employed a false coiner there, to vitiate their own circulation. But no; a royal tradition, preserved among the Chaillot MSS., informs us that Raymond the alchemist's Tower-gold was the purest *angel* gold; and, howsoever he came by the ore, the coins were so called because the reverse was impressed with the figure of an angel.² On account of its superior purity, the angel-coins stamped from Lully's gold were devoted by the kings of England as the healing-gold, and bound by their royal hands on the arm of each of their subjects touched in the healing-office for the king's evil. Assuredly, if Edward III.'s conjuror made the gold of the celebrated angel-coins for the purpose of being bound on the arms of the sick, his royal master performed the healing-office.

Among the other crimes aggravating the murder of Richard II., his virtue as an anointed descendant of the Saxon saints is not forgotten. Henry IV. was in the predicament of William the Dutchman,—not the lineal successor; whether he touched, we have no evidence. Henry V.'s skill with the sick is not on record. Henry VI. was looked upon as prophet as well as king; he certainly practised this office,—indeed, he had an additional title to success in healing, being descended from St. Louis. As touching for cure of the king's evil was identified with the rightful claim to lineal succession, there was nothing in earth, air, or sea which those bold sinners, the brothers of York, would not have touched that led the way to the royal garland. It was a practice very consistent with the quiet policy of Henry VII. As to his son, Henry VIII., who united every claim, spiritual and temporal, of the rival

¹ Many traces are to be found of this curious fact in Rymer's *Fœdera*. Other alchemists were employed at the Tower Mint till the troubles of Henry VI. broke out.

² St. Michael triumphant over the dragon.

disputants to the throne, of course all regal offices were carefully observed by him; and he insisted on his numerous queens performing a religious office of blessing cramp-rings, some of his antiquarians having discovered that this privilege had been enjoyed by queen Edith, consort of Edward the Confessor. Anne Boleyn, to prove herself a rightful queen, consecrated and distributed these rings, which, it may be presumed, was a branch of the gift of healing inherent in queens-consort, even in those who were not royal by birth. The two Tudor queens-regnant, Papist and Protestant, duly performed the royal ceremonies of healing and consecration of cramp-rings. These offices were not abolished among queen Elizabeth's reformatations. Strange that so many hospitals and charities should have been swept away as superstitious overmuch, and pertaining to "the sinful nature of good works," while such veritable rags of righteousness were retained. James I., to his great joy, found these ceremonials flourishing. They suited his purpose right well; for, if his predecessor healed by virtue of her descent from the Saxon line, he was rightful heir of St. Edward,—the representative of Matilda Atheling's elder brother, St. David, and, as matter of course, possessed the miraculous gift in a higher degree. The Jacobites were exceedingly delighted with the fact that Mary II. dared not, and her spouse would not, perform this ceremony.¹ But they were proportionably displeased when they found that queen Anne, in order to assert her claims as the heiress of both branches of the Saxon royalty, through Plantagenet and Stuart, meant to treat her brother as a nonentity, and perform the right of the royal healing-service. It is supposed that this measure was adopted in rivalry to her brother's original healing establishment at St. Germain's, since vast numbers of diseased people yearly made pilgrimages to seek the touch of the disinherited heir of their royal line; and, what with the sea voyage, the change of air, and change of scene, his cures were marvellous.

¹ "There is a form for touching for 'the evil' in the liturgy printed under queen Anne;" but, adds William Whiston, in his autobiography, "neither king William, queen Mary, or George I., or II., ever touched for the evil."

Our readers will smile when they consider that all this implicit belief in miracles by touch was in a state of activity at the beginning of the century in which some of them were born. However, the soft white hand of the regal lady, beneath which Dr. Johnson bowed his suffering body in childhood to receive the royal prayer and benediction, was, at least, as good as the passes of the modern mesmerizer; and many a brow that has not submitted to the cross in baptism, as "too superstitious," has bent beneath the sway of a mesmerizer.

Sometimes the trials for cures were failures on the part of the queen, as may be learned from an extract from a sermon by no means divine, added below.¹ Sometimes, the crowd was so great around the doors of the chapel-royal that the unfortunate children who were brought to be healed were carried away dead, owing to the dense pressure of the populace, eager to witness the miracle they devoutly believed was inherited by their sovereigns, of the faculty of curing "the king's evil," as they quaintly called it,—not because the royal race of Stuart were afflicted with any such dire disease, but because the royal touch was presumed to be efficacious in dispelling it. Evelyn records the fact

¹ Extract from a sermon by Dr. Bull (bishop of St. David's, who died in 1709), "St. Paul's Thorne in the Flesh explained."—"Hereby it appears that the gift of curing diseases without the help of art or nature was indeed a gift of God, and so given by him to his apostles that they could not exercise it arbitrarily, and at their own pleasure, but only to whom, when, where, and how God pleased, and should direct them to make use of that power; that so the glory of all the wonderful cures wrought by them might at last redound to God the author, and not to man the instrument. And (by the way) perhaps this is the best account that can be given of the relique and remainder of the primitive miraculous gift of healing, for some hundreds of years past visible in this our nation, and annexed to the succession of our Christian kings; I mean, the cure of that otherwise generally incurable disease called *morbus regius*, or king's evil. That divers persons generally laboring under it have been cured by the mere touch of the royal hand, assisted by the prayers of the priests of our church attending, is unquestionable, unless the faith of all our ancient writers, and the consentient report of hundreds of most credible persons in our own age attesting the same, be to be questioned. And yet some of those diseased persons return from that sovereign remedy *re infecta*, without cure done upon them. How comes this to pass? God hath not given this gift of healing so absolutely to our royal line, but that he still keeps the reins of it in his own hand, to let them loose or restrain them as he pleaseth. . . ."

that in the reign of Charles II. several persons were pressed to death in the crowd that surrounded the doors of the court-surgeon, where individuals applied for tickets, in order to present their children for cure to the king.

The queen, in the commencement of the second year of her reign, issued an order of council to the following effect :—

“ ANNE, R. :

“ Our will and pleasure is, that this form of prayer¹ and thanksgiving for the eighth day of March be forthwith printed and published, and be used yearly on the said day in all the cathedrals and collegiate churches and chapels, in all chapels of colleges and halls within our universities, and of our colleges of Eton and Winchester, and in all parish churches and chapels within our kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

“ Given at our court of St. James, the 7th day of Feb. 1703-4, in the second year of our reign.

“ By her majesty’s command.

“ NOTTINGHAM.”

The queen being seated in state in the banqueting-hall, her great officers stood in their usual places near her, and her chaplains officiated ; one of them especially knelt near her when the practical part of the healing-office commenced, having white ribbons on his arm, strung with the pieces of “ pure angel-gold” which the queen was to place round the necks, or bind on the arms of her poor patients, after she

¹ The book of Common-Prayer from whence this curious service is extracted, is in the possession of Bernard Gilpin, Esq., Ulverstone, who has kindly permitted it to be copied. “ Printed by Charles Bell, and the executrix of T. Newcomb, printers to the Queen’s most excellent majesty : *cum privilegio*.” It is of the edition of 1709, but the contents evidently refer to 1703-4. Since the publication of the first impression of this volume, we have been favored by Mrs. Yonge, of Otterbourne, near Winchester, with the description of an earlier printed copy of the healing-services, in her possession, entitled “ The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be Diseased with the *King’s Evil*, used in the time of King Henry VII. Published by his Majesty’s command. Printed by Henry Hill, printer to the King’s most excellent majesty, for his *Houshold and Chappell*, 1686.” From the last words, it may be inferred that this book was not meant for general circulation : it was for the use of James II. The rubric is translated from the Latin in the Cottonian library ; but the fact is curious, that the Gospel is not from the authorized version. The sentence occurs in it, “ *He exprobrated their unbelief*.” The book contains twenty pages, in large print, with red rubrics ; many blank pages are added, and in its old red-and-gold binding it has much the appearance of a book supplied to some attendant in the royal chapel.

had stroked and touched them. The healing-office commenced with the Collect:—

“Prevent us, O Lord, with thy most gracious favor, and further us with thy continued help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ending in thee, we may glorify thy holy name, and finally, by thy mercy, attain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

“The holy Gospel is written in the sixteenth chapter of St. Mark, beginning at the 14th verse.

“Jesus appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, etc. . . . *They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.* So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs and wonders.”

“Our Father, which art in heaven,” etc.

¶ Then shall the infirm persons, one by one, be presented to the queen upon their knees; and as every one is presented, and while the queen is laying her hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the chaplain that officiates, turning himself to her majesty, shall say these words following:—

“God give a blessing to this work, and grant that those sick persons on whom the queen lays her hands may recover, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

¶ After all have been presented, the chaplain shall say:—

“O Lord, save thy servants.”

Response by the sick, who come to be healed.—“Who put their trust in thee.”

“Send them help from thy holy place.”

Response of the sick.—“And ever more mightily defend them.”

“Help us, O God of our salvation.”

Response of the sick.—“And for the glory of thy name deliver us, and be merciful to us sinners for thy name's sake.”

“O Lord, hear our prayers.”

Response of the sick.—“And let our cry come unto thee.”

“Let us pray.

“O Almighty God, who art the giver of health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succor, we call upon thee for thy help and goodness, mercifully to be showed upon these thy servants, that they, being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks unto thee in thy holy church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

¶ Then the chaplain, standing with his face towards them that come to be healed, shall say:—

“The Almighty God, who is a most strong tower to all them that put their trust in him, to whom all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth do bow and obey, be now and evermore your defence, and make you know and feel, that there is no other name under heaven given to man in whom and through whom you may receive health and salvation, but only the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.”

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all, evermore. Amen.”

In the translation of Henry VII.'s healing-service a notation occurs, "That the chirurgeon [surgeon] leads away the sick folk," instead of the clerk of the closet. Perhaps Anne's chirurgeons were contumacious, and ashamed of the whole process.

There are two or three letters in the State-Paper office addressed personally to queen Anne, written in elegant Italian, from the pope, by the hand of his official, or ordinary, congratulating her in affectionate terms on her conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Not any notation of answer is appended to these epistles: they are dated in 1706. After carefully reviewing the whole of queen Anne's life, these letters appear inexplicable, for the fact of a Roman Catholic claiming any person as belonging to his religion is a very different matter from fanatics accusing members of the reformed church of being "Papists." Very often persons so reviled are, on the other side, persecuted as much by the Roman Catholics themselves,—a certain evidence that they strive to gain the narrow and difficult path which lies between the two extremes,—that *via media*, which has been pronounced the best by Christian sages. How queen Anne ever manifested sufficient participation in the Roman Catholic rites to induce the Roman Catholic pontiff to claim her as a member of his church, is a mystery of history that must remain such; unless the solution be, that the queen had, in the first year after her accession, celebrated the healing-office according to its original service, which, both in the English translation and the Latin formula, contains invocations to the Virgin Mary. Moreover, she claimed the performance of the miracle by her double descent from the heirs of St. Edward, a king canonized by the papal see. The original formula of the service included a mass.¹

¹ In queen Anne's edition of the Common-Prayer, just cited, the most efficacious means for anti-papal purposes are resorted to. What makes the pope's loving letter (extant in the State-Paper office) to queen Anne, as a Roman Catholic, the more unaccountable is, that it contains the renowned hymn of Robin Wisdom, of Carfax, to be sung before sermon, beginning,—

"Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear Word;
From Pope and Turk defend us, Lord."

The passionate love that the people bore to "their good queen Anne," was partly founded on her condescension in thus suffering the most wretched and pitiable of her subjects to approach her, when she with alms, with benedictions, soothed their miseries for the love of God. As to the questions of whether the queen performed the healing-office with a little jealousy of the cures wrought by her brother, "the king over the water," or entirely with the simplicity of a heart earnest in good works,—let them rest. One thing is certain, that never was any measure better contrived by the most sagacious statesman to fix the sovereign in the love of a populace¹ when her regnal power was circumscribed, and almost defied, by a majority among the aristocracy of wealth, who had profited by the religious revolutions of the preceding eras.

It appears that the queen performed the healing-office on her progresses whensoever she rested at any provincial city. Her progresses were chiefly journeys to Bath, the springs of which were in equal repute to those of Bourbon. It is supposed that the queen touched Dr. Johnson for 'the evil' in one of these western progresses. She actually spent the autumn of this year at that city, chiefly for the benefit of the health of her consort.

The queen usually began her retreat from St. James's palace at the Easter recess. She then visited Kensington palace for occasional breathings of fresh air, and settled there in April or May, according to the weather. It was a place in which her consort, prince George of Denmark, greatly delighted, and actually coveted it so much as to induce him to take rather hasty possession of it on the demise of William III. Kensington gardens owe much to him and queen Anne. They were merely gardens in

In the litany, the prayer for the royal family is this: "For thy servant Anne, our most gracious queen and *governor*,"—and "to bless and preserve the princess Sophia, and all the royal family." Mr. Bernard Gilpin has likewise a Bible of the same date with the Common-Prayer, containing the healing-service printed just after the thanksgiving for the 8th of March, queen Anne's accession-day.

¹ The effect it had on Dr. Johnson's mind throughout life is a well-known instance.

those days, since king William's palace grounds consisted of only twenty-five acres, and were bounded by the broad gravel-walk in front of the palace. All the plantation between the present conservatory and the Bayswater road was a wild, hollow gravel-pit, which queen Anne added to her Kensington domain when she began to build the conservatory or banqueting-room; that part of the gardens called Kensington park was subsequently enclosed from Hyde park in the reign of George II. Queen Anne's new additions were called 'The upper garden of Kensington.' "It was," says Addison, "at first, nothing but a gravel-pit. It must have been a fine genius for gardening that could have thought of forming such an unsightly hollow into so beautiful an area. On one side of the walk you see this hollow basin, with its several little plantations lying so conveniently under the eye; on the other side of it appears a mount, made up of trees." These alterations were commenced by queen Anne directly she took possession of Kensington palace. A hundred men were kept constantly employed in bringing the gardens to the appearance described above. The mount mentioned perhaps alludes to one still in the memory of those who can look back fifteen or twenty years, said to have been designed by queen Caroline, the consort of George II., and furnished at the top with a turning alcove, which accommodated the queen's seat to the way of the wind. The mount commanded a view of the Brentford road, said to be added by queen Caroline when she had the round pond dug; but there was evidently a mount in Kensington gardens planted with trees in the time of queen Anne. Another mount, still called in the Kensington traditions 'queen Anne's mount,' is the site of one of the company's water-works, and, according to tradition, was included in her grounds at Campden house. These remains were probably fragments of fortifications when Kensington was the *king's town* and summer seat in the Saxon era, and subsequently the nursery palace for the children of Henry VIII. appended to the dower-palace of Chelsea. Leases were granted, from time to time, of this beautiful situation to various palace

servants, when royal nurseries were no longer wanted. If considered as an adjunct to Chelsea palace, Kensington forms the first of that westward chain of summer palaces on the Thames to Reading, which comprised Hammer-smith, Barnes, Kew,¹ Richmond, Ham, Hampton Court, the regal Windsor castle (the fortress of retreat in case of rebellion), and finished with Henry I.'s palace abbey of Reading, or perhaps with the royal Beaumont of Oxford, where Richard I. was born.

Queen Anne's banqueting-room at Kensington was commenced directly the body of William III. was conveyed out of the palace. Any person who looks therein may see that it has been originally divided into three beautiful rooms, adorned with Corinthian pillars; there are elegant friezes, and niches for statues bearing girandoles. There is a circular room at each end, one a drawing-room, the other a music-room; the middle apartment was a ball-room. Taking advantage of the broad windows, it afforded a spring or summer stand to the queen's myrtles, oranges, and other evergreen exotics, which, in the winter, she sent to the famous gardeners, London and Wise of Brompton park, to be sheltered.² Near the western end of the palace may be observed a gate-way leading directly to the banqueting-hall, through which queen Anne used to be carried in her chair when she went to her illuminated galas on spring evenings.

Her majesty gave concerts and balls. The public were admitted into the royal gardens on these fête occasions, but were expected to sail about, *à-la-Watteau*, in full dress. The open alcove, the back of which abuts on Kensington street, was built by queen Anne as a sheltered seat on these occasions for the promenaders. Hyde park coming up to the broad walk, which runs from Kensington to Bayswater,

¹ Many of these palaces were appanages to the younger branches of the royal family. Kew (*the tail* of Richmond palace) was the seat of the earl of Devonshire, time of queen Mary I., and seems to have belonged to his grandmother, the lady Katherine Plantagenet, youngest daughter of Edward IV. Such grants were resumed by the crown when the lineage of the younger scions of royalty failed.—Correspondence, State-Paper office.

² Knight's London.

"the poor commonalty" could have a peep at their beloved Anne, her consort, and all her noble suite and guests in the illuminated banquet-hall, through the grille which divided it from their authorized haunts, and could criticise the full-dresses of the genteel people who glided about the gardens "in brocaded robes, hoops, fly-caps, and fans." On these evenings some of the chief diversions were musical entertainments, with songs by the court lyrist, D'Urfey,¹—some humorous, some political, others pastoral. For one of these concerts he wrote and set to music the well-known ballad, "'Twas within a mile of Edinborough town,"—a song which, although adopted as Scotch, is neither national in costume nor character.

Queen Anne's known partiality to flowers occasioned D'Urfey to compliment her, according to the mythology of that era, under the appellation of 'Great Flora,' in his lyrics written for her concerts. It is probable that the banqueting-room was used occasionally as a theatre, for D'Urfey superintended the performance of his dramas at Kensington in the presence of queen Anne, as he especially notes. He likewise endorses several of his most profligate compositions, "that they were performed at Kensington before queen Mary II., to her great delight." Yet, previously to queen Anne's erection of the banqueting-room, Kensington presented few facilities for theatrical representation. When the now-deserted banqueting-hall was finished, about the end of 1705, Defoe, Anne's contemporary, describes the royal fêtes there in homely language:—"After the queen had built her green-house at Kensington palace, she was pleased to make it her summer supper-room."²

Kensington palace was conveniently near London for councils and ministerial visits in early summer. Before the queen made her gradual advances towards Windsor, by way of Hampton Court, she used to visit the old palace manor-house at Twickenham, where she had been nursed in infancy. Here she was pleased in having a private tea-party occasionally. Sometimes she extended her spring

¹ D'Urfey's Works.

² Defoe's Tour through Great Britain, vol. iv.

tour as far as Hampton Court, and even held councils there, if we may trust Pope, who says, invoking Hampton Court:—

“Where thou, great Anna, whom three realms obey,
Doth sometimes council take, and sometimes tea.”

Hampton Court was usually the queen's residence for some little time after the summer prorogation of parliament. August and part of September she spent at Windsor castle. Her parliament often met in October, and then she returned to Hampton Court, and with visits to Kensington palace, as the cold set in, she found herself again at St. James's palace the last days of November, or the first in December. Queen Anne seldom made any progresses, excepting to Bath for the benefit of her health, or that of the prince. In the first years of her reign it was frequently expected that the queen would bring an heir to the crown. On one of these occasions the prince positively forbade her to go to the Newmarket October meeting, on which she had fixed her mind. Her courtiers greatly lauded, in their letters to each other, the conjugal obedience of the queen on this occasion.¹

¹ White Kennet's MS. Correspondence; Brit. Museum.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER VI.

Causes of queen Anne's popularity with the lower classes—Literature of the times of queen Anne—Almanac for ladies dedicated to her—Queen approves of a Protestant convent—Promises to endow it—Hindered by bishop Burnet—Queen breaks with her uncle, lord Rochester—Queen's enmity to her mother's family—Her letters to the Duchess of Marlborough—Queen receives tidings of the great victory of Blenheim—She goes in procession to St. Paul's—Her magnificent presents to Marlborough—Her letters to the duchess—Royal visit to Cambridge—Queen knights Isaac Newton—She is refused the title of majesty by the emperor—Queen appoints whig ministers—Her manner of appointing a lord keeper—Her appointments to benefices in the church—Insolence of the duchess of Marlborough to the queen—Queen's letters—Her palace-life and daily routine—Queen's conference with lord Cowper on Ireland—Angry contests with the duchess of Marlborough—Queen receives from her an arrogant letter—Queen yields the point contested—She consents to make lord Sunderland lord privy-seal—She appoints bishops at his bidding—Queen's sorrow and dejection—Palace quarrel about the queen's cast clothes—Queen allows her women increase of salary—Jealousy of the queen's favor by the duchess of Marlborough against Abigail Hill—Queen considered on bad terms with the duchess—Queen resists her endeavor to appoint a bedchamber woman—Queen is lectured on the subject by her ministers—She exasperates the "family junta"—Close espionage on her conduct.

As far as the personal affections of all sorts and conditions of the people were concerned, Anne was the most popular female sovereign who had, up to that time, ascended the English throne. "Our good queen Anne" is an appellation not yet obsolete among the lower orders. Of a passive and obtuse temperament, the queen was rather that negative personage, "a good sort of woman," than a good woman, and yet many causes combined to render her beloved by the people. In the first place, she was, as she said, "entirely English," the daughter of an Englishman

and Englishwoman; her comely person bore the national characteristics of the middle classes; her very limited education confined her language, tastes, and prejudices entirely to everything English; her feminine helplessness of mind well fitted her for the limits to which an encroaching oligarchy had confined the functions of a British monarch. If it be a maxim of the constitution "that the king can do no wrong," who could look on the soft and innocent features of the comfortable matron who filled the British throne, and make her accountable for the wrong-doing of her ministers? She was, too, the last of our native line of princes, the natural object of the fond loyalty of the Protestant adherents to the house of Stuart, who were numerous, notwithstanding all theological discrepancies.

Without possessing the refined taste for literature and the arts which the worst enemies of the Stuart royal line are forced to allow, Anne inherited the munificent spirit of her race. As soon as she ascended the throne, poetry and science breathed in a different atmosphere from the cold and chilly blight that had fallen on them when the Dutch persecutor of Dryden assumed the sceptre of the islands. Who can wonder, then, that the "good queen Anne" of the middle classes was eulogized by the pen of every writer? Her reign, too, was a series of brilliant continental victories, and she died before the bitter reaction of national poverty, which ever follows English wars, had fully taken place. Her personal generosity to the church, and her mildness of government, made her adored by a populace which still extended its hands to churchmen as the kind alleviators of their most bitter miseries, for not only the weekly, but the daily offertory was then customary, and is supposed to have remained so until the year 1725. It supplied a fund for charitable purposes to the incumbents of livings too small to allow of efficient private almsgiving on the part of the indigent pastor, who is too often compelled to behold distress, without the power of supplying nourishment to the sick, or clothing to the naked of his flock.

"Queen Anne's grandmother was a washerwoman," is a saying scarcely yet forgotten among the lower orders, and,

truth to tell, it was an assertion which had its influence in inducing the extraordinary popularity with which her memory is still cherished by the people. A tradition at once so mysterious and so widely circulated demands some inquiry and explanation. The late cardinal York is said to have repeated the same to cardinal Gonsalvi, with the variation, that "queen Anne's grandmother was not a washerwoman, or *blanchisseuse*, but a tub-girl." A very strange circumstance it is, that a prince like cardinal York, born and bred in Italy, should know the distinction, that a tub-girl, or a tub-woman, according to old English custom, was not a laundress, but a breweress; it is only needful to call to mind the well-known instances of the lampoons levelled at Cromwell's wife as "a tub-woman,"¹ to prove that such was really the case. Here is the traditionary tale² connected with common report that the grandmother of the two queens-regnant, Mary II. and Anne, was a washer-woman; it is literally "a tale of a tub." There was once a great country gentleman who lived in a grand hall, and who had a handsome wife, and a family of handsome children. The roundheads, as he was a loyal cavalier, assailed his park, stormed his hall, and slew him and his wife and children. When the homicides were all gone, one of the young ladies who had only swooned with terror, revived;

¹ All the earlier biographers of Cromwell note, that, being a younger brother, and having spent his portion, "he *permitted* his wife to keep a *public* brewery at Huntingdon." In those days, the division of labor had not separated the callings of the brewer and the alehouse-keeper; the wife of the "public brewer" sold the ale and yeast from her tubs to the customers, and was consequently called a "a tub-woman," and her helpers, "tub-girls."—Birkenhead's *Mercurius*. Echard.

² The author has often heard this story repeated orally, but never could trace it in print; she has been referred to the quarto edition of Macpherson's *Stuart Papers*, but it is not there. The above account is from the lips of the late marchese di Solari, who affirmed it was told to her by cardinal Gonsalvi, who heard it from cardinal York. One thing is curious, which is, neither the lady, nor either cardinal, could by accident have stumbled on the term "tub-girl," therefore the narrative must at first have had an English origin, and is probably a picturesque version of the history of that coarse favorite of fortune, Nan Clarges, duchess of Albemarle, whose early adventures have been confused by Voltaire, and other superficial French writers, with those of the first duchess of York.

and seeing all her friends and family lying dead around her, and her home in flames, she ran away in terror she knew not whither, but fled as far as her feet could carry her from the scene of desolation, and sank down swooning—this time with exhaustion and grief—at the door of a small wayside house, which proved to be an alehouse-brewery or pot-house. The good man of the homestead had got up early to brew, and finding the poor young girl insensible at his door, he called up to his wife, and told her to give the destitute one some Christian help and charity. The ale-wife was a very good woman; she put the poor girl to bed, gave her food and a great deal of pity when she heard “how the wicked roundhead troopers had killed her father, because he loved king Charles, and burnt her home and village, so that she was destitute and houseless;” but the young lady never told her true name and rank. At first, she concealed them out of sheer terror, lest the Cromwellians should return and finish their work by murdering her; and afterwards, because she considered that her rank would prevent her from accepting the humble home her new friends offered her, for the ale-wife had just lost an only child, a girl of her age, and she persuaded her guest to stay where she was (as she had lost all her friends), and help her with the yeast, and filling the pottle-pots of ale out of the tubs. So the noble young lady (whose name has never transpired) remained, whilst the civil wars raged, as “tub-girl” to this ale-house. Matters did not mend for her after the death of king Charles; all that bore her name, or were akin to her, had emigrated, and her father’s estate had passed into the clutches of a commonwealth man. The tub-girl, therefore, turned her mind so sedulously to her vocation, and, like the famous brown Betty of nursery lore, “brewed ale for gentlemen” of such exquisite flavor that trade flourished, the hedge ale-house grew a wayside inn, and the ale-wife and her husband became so rich they could hardly reckon their wealth,—and they owed it all to their beloved “tub-girl,” who was universally reckoned as their daughter and heiress. At last, as she was very rosy, fair, and comely, a rich tradesman made her an offer, and mar-

ried her. The ale-wife died, then her husband, and they left all they had to the tub-girl: her spouse not long after followed this good example, and our tub-lady became a well-endowed widow. In the course of settling her affairs, she had a consultation with Edward Hyde, a young, handsome barrister, at the Temple. The future lord chancellor being much pleased with her appearance, and still more at that of her documents, tendered the fair widow his heart and hand, married her, and in consequence "the tub-girl" became mother to Anne Hyde, and grandmother to the two queens-regnant of Great Britain and Ireland, queen Mary and queen Anne. A pretty story, and romantic too,—pity it is not true! But the inexorable fact, that Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, the lord chancellor of Charles I. and Charles II., and father to the duchess of York, married *both* his wives before the civil war took place, is incontestable. Anne Hyde was born long before the roundheads began the work of desolating the country-seats of England. There is now before us a very good proof, being the fac-simile of the said Anne Hyde's own autograph memoirs, to the following effect:¹ "I was born the 12 day of March, old *stile*, in the yeare of our Lord 1637, at Cranborne lodge, neer Windsor, in *Barkshire*, and lived in my owne country till I was 12 yeares old, having in that time seen the ruin both of church and state, and the murthering of my king." And as if she had intended wholly to demolish the story of her parent becoming about the same time so celebrated in the brewing-tub line, the mother of queens Mary and Anne adds, very explicitly:—"I came out of England, being then twelve yeares old, one month, and eighteen dayes.

"ANNE HYDE."

Thus Anne Hyde herself was a girl at the very time, between twelve and thirteen years old, when the tub-girl tale makes her mother to be about the same age. Anne Hyde has been traced directly after, in the course of this work, as maid of honor to the princess-royal of England (princess of Orange), and afterwards as wife to the duke

¹ Engraved in *Netherclift Autographs*, p. 18, from a memorandum-book once belonging to Anne Hyde.

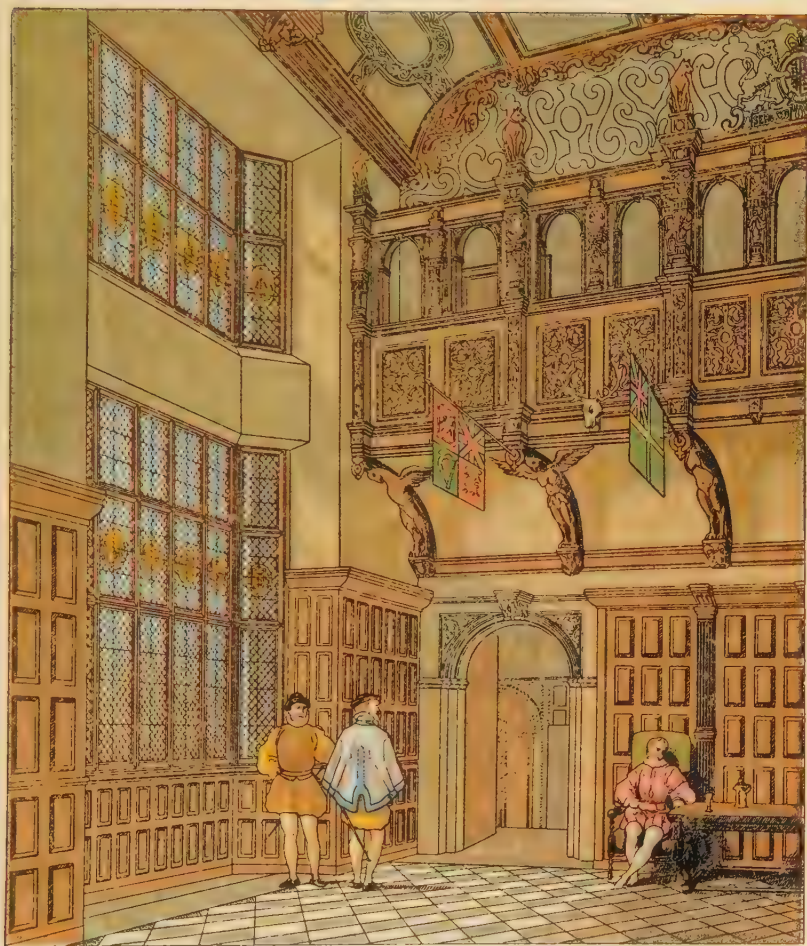
of York ; according to the tub-tale, she could not have been two years old when her eldest daughter was born, if her mother was a young unmarried girl in 1645. The mother of Anne Hyde, and consequently the grandmother of queen Anne, was Frances Aylesbury, daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury, a person of excellent family, who was married, the mother of a numerous family, and *dead* long before the civil wars broke out. Her youngest child was Anne Hyde. Neither can the story be transferred thus : "the great-grandmother of queen Anne was a washerwoman or tub-girl," for where then are the civil wars ? The story must travel back to the civil wars of York and Lancaster to find a local home and habitation. But as this shadowy and unchronological tale comes from universal tradition and the gossip of the exiled court, it must have foundation, howsoever distant, and the conclusion may be drawn that queens Mary and Anne had, by means of their descent from Anne Hyde, a remarkable *window* in their genealogies somewhere or other.¹

Queen Anne extended her beneficence to the church of England so far as to permit the sittings of her convocations, which her sister and brother-in-law had interrupted and, as far as they could, abolished. The convocation is the parliament of our church, and, like the temporal parliament, consists of upper and lower houses,—the first composed of the dignitaries, the other of the commoners of the

¹ Heralds use the quaint term "windows" in genealogies, when an alliance occurs with a person who either has no right to armorial bearings, or has forfeited them by some servile occupation. In that case, the painted windows in halls or chapels, illustrative of descent by blazonries of successive shields of coat-armor, presented now and then blanks ; and the bright light streaming through the pane which had no blazoning, offered a strong contrast to those round it darkened with rich coloring of gules, azure, purpure, vert, or gold color, and was therefore called "a window." Such passion pervaded the lower classes for scanning the descents of the gentry and nobility, that Chaucer describes his pilgrims, the miller, cook, and other plebeian folk, very busy discussing the rich blazonries of the painted windows in Canterbury cathedral, and showing their plebeian ignorance by very bad heraldry withal. The ancient text of Chaucer must be searched for this extraordinary feature in the propensities of the people of England ; it has never been translated by Dryden or his assistants, or noticed as far as the author can recollect.

Hall of Hatfield House

*Built by Robert Cecil, first Lord Salisbury,
between 1605 and 1611*



clergy. It still exists, being convened with all legal forms simultaneously with new parliaments; but the moment a clergyman attempted to speak, he was silenced, ostensibly by order of the sovereign, according to the tyrannical precedent of William III. Yet we are happy now to record the fact that her present majesty has been graciously pleased, within the last few years, to restore the convocation of our church to the exercise of all its privileges consistent with Protestantism.

It is impossible to convey any perspicuous ideas of the fierce party storms raised in the name of "high church" without devoting a few words to their primary cause, for in these storms Anne was whirled from side to side, guided by no purpose of action, excepting an earnest desire to do as much good, and as little harm as possible. Finally she permitted the spiritual parliament, or convocation, to proceed to business without arbitrary interruption. Her majesty, of course, received the thanks and benedictions of her clergy, especially of the lower house, for her grant of the first-fruits and tenths, which was an incalculable relief to the commonalty of the church. Strange to say, that the lower house was, according to the jargon of her political history, "high-church;" the upper house of convocation "low-church." Yet the explanation of this seeming paradox is not difficult. The upper-house of convocation consisted of those who enjoyed the great riches and high dignities of the church: they had been given them by the will and pleasure of William III. If those whose business it is to inquire into such history¹ will form a list of the dignitaries of the church appointed by William and Mary, and trace their names and lives through the *Biographia Britannica*, they will find very few of their archbishops, bishops, or deans but had been educated as dissenters, and that some had officiated as dissenting preachers and teachers. In

¹ For further information, the author refers the reader to the learned and interesting volume by the Rev. William Palin, M.A., *History of the Church of England from the Revolution to the last acts of Convocation, from 1688 to 1717*. It is the only digest of this important subject that exists, presenting at the same time a continuous stream of narrative, the facts of which are supported by faithful and exact references.

general, the "conforming prelates" were not beloved and esteemed equally with those who embraced poverty rather than give up, for the lucre of temporal advantage, the principles in which they had been educated; but these conforming prelates formed the majority of the upper house of convocation. It is easy to imagine that the lower house of convocation could not agree with prelates and dignitaries who had been put over the heads of the sons of the reformed church of England, bred up with earnest devotedness to her ordinances and works of beneficence. Such are the simple facts wherefore the upper-house of convocation was deemed "low-church,"—the lower-house, "high-church;" their strife, as may be supposed, became violent, and unfortunately the object of angry debate comprised discussions on the first principles of Christian belief,¹ to the anguish of the queen. However, she permitted the two houses of convocation to open business, or rather to struggle together and defy each other, at the outset of her whig ministry in 1705.

The duchess of Marlborough, as the agent of the triumphant faction, endeavored to wrest from queen Anne the privilege which, even so lately as the commencement of the last century, appertained to the crown, of nominating the holders of vacant dignities in the church. It will be shown, that the first serious cause of dispute between the queen and her imperious domestic arose from her majesty's demur in nominating bishops to vacant sees agreeably to that lady's sense of religion. The queen was neither qualified by nature nor education to trace the original causes of historical events. Her majesty was evidently greatly perplexed wherefore all the dignitaries of her church ranked themselves in the party of "low-church." Having the

¹ A great swarm of deistical works, from the pens of Toland, Asgill, and Wollaston, with reprints and discussions on Hobbes, marked this epoch, and caused some injury, not only to the church of England, but to the general cause of Christian belief. The dreadful state of the morals of the poor, at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, forms the best criterion of the influence of the *latitudinarian* bishops appointed at the dictum of free-thinking ministers. No deistical philosophers trouble themselves with the poor.

greatest veneration even for the nomenclature of spiritual dignities, she was much mystified why the people at large made common cause with the country clergy against a conforming primate, and cried out most piteously "that the church of England was in danger." Perhaps they had their reasons, which reasons we leave for the discussion of those they may concern, marking only this fact, that most of the populace who now clung with affection to the reformed Catholic church of England had had the opportunity of comparing their happiness under her guidance with their experience of Cromwell's dissenting ministry. Such were the primary causes of the remarkable church factions, which will soon be noted as occupying much of queen Anne's thoughts and attention. Facts bear out the assertion that her study was not to exalt one party much above the other, but to maintain a moderating power between the extremes.¹

The Augustan age of queen Anne, and the glories of literature under her sway, are phrases on the pen or lips of every one, and some readers may expect to learn how her majesty's name came to be connected with such praises. No person would, we think, have been more puzzled than good queen Anne herself, if she had been expected to account for the same. The duchess of Marlborough asserted "that the queen never read, and that cards entirely occupied her thoughts in her youth." It may be noticed that, throughout a voluminous correspondence, her majesty never makes a literary quotation, or mentions any book as if she had ever actually read it. Although she promised once to read a pamphlet much pressed on her attention by the duchess of Marlborough, there is no evidence that she really did so. On the grounds of bishop Wilson's² thanks

¹ Throughout the whole of Swift's correspondence and his historical works and pamphlets, he affirms, from the information of both Harley and Bolingbroke, that such were the queen's intentions.

² The apostolic bishop of Sodor and Man, who, without taking any part in the furious dissensions of the day, bent all the energies of his saintly life to civilize and reclaim a miserable and neglected population, by whom he was infinitely beloved. He had been educated by the reformed church of England,

to "our unnamed and illustrious benefactress," the queen has been considered as the foundress of one of the first Bible societies, but the fact has been denied. A tradition likewise existed that the Tatlers were printed at an early hour that they might be laid on the royal breakfast-table; these papers contained postscripts, which were summaries of passing political events. Hopes were entertained that her majesty would read them on that account, and every facility was afforded for that purpose; whether she ever did read them is another affair. The disorder incidental to her eyes was the excuse for her want of study; but it required as much eyesight to write perpetually as to read, and queen Anne often wrote four times in the course of one day to the duchess of Marlborough, when she was in favor with that insolent spirit.

The literature of her era, it is now allowed, has been greatly overpraised; its fame is chiefly based on the efforts of translators or imitators of the classics, who praised themselves and their patrons with indefatigable ardor. The list of works of real originality is short. When the Tatlers and Spectators, and the Rape of the Lock are named, where else are we to look for originality,¹ unless a few comedies of Cibber, Vanbrugh, and Congreve are mentioned?—which certainly deserve the doubtful praise of presenting true, though atrocious, pictures of the manners of the times. The wits reckoned Defoe among the dunces; posterity has righted him.

In the first years of the reign of Anne, an annual was established called the Ladies' Diary, or Women's Almanac; according to its prospectus "containing directions for love, marriage, preserving,"—not hearts, but plums and gooseberries,—“cookery, perfumery, bills of fare, and many other concerns peculiar to the fair sex.” The editor's description of this unique performance throws some light on

which sank for awhile when Mary II. deprived archbishop Sancroft and bishop Ken.

¹ The title of the Rape of the Lock is not original, as all Italian scholars know; but the poem itself is truly so, and in that respect stands alone among all Pope's works.

the domestic customs of an age little known, though very near. There was a "copy of verses in praise of queen Anne, which were actually spoken in the lord-mayor's parlor by one of the *blew-coat* boys (at the last thanksgiving-day, about the *Vigo* business), with universal applause." Then the calendar, with the common notes of the year, "the times when marriage comes in and out,¹ and the eclipses, all in one page. A picture of the queen in copper [that is, a copper-plate engraving], very well performed." The rest of the literature consisted of "delightful tales." The preface was a dissertation on the happiness England enjoyed "under the reign of queen Elizabeth and the present queen [Anne]." Many ardent aspirations the worthy editor made to obtain the lives of celebrated queens, more particularly queens of England, and he even names Margaret of Anjou on his list, but declares that he gives up the undertaking, on the most solemn conviction "that no dates of birth or death can be found for any queen, excepting queen Elizabeth and queen Anne." Nevertheless, we earnestly wish he had made the attempt. "This being the first almanac printed for the use of the fair sex, and under the reign of a glorious woman," said Mr. Tipper, "some would advise me to dedicate it to the queen, with some such dedication as this:—'To the Queen's most excellent majesty. This Ladies' Diary, or Women's Almanac, being the first ever published for the peculiar use of the fair sex, is, with all humility, dedicated to your most sacred Majesty.'" The work was successful:² the elder of all English annuals by at least a hundred years, it is the survivor of most of them.

¹ The regulations concerning the times when marriage can be celebrated were still observed by the church of England according to the discipline of the Roman Catholics.

² See Ellis's *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, where occur, from p. 304, a series of letters from Mr. J. Tipper, of Coventry, giving a most amusing account of the progress of this periodical. Its history is a curious one: although projected with the intention of being a ladies' almanac, and retaining the name of "*Ladies' Diary*" to this hour, it has become the only mathematical periodical in Great Britain,—not because ladies are exclusively devoted to such abstruse science, but because the authors who carried it on knew as little of ladies' literature, as ladies generally do of the mathematics.

The literature of the early days of queen Anne was distinguished by the writings of some recluses of gentle birth and manners, who sighed for retirement "from the loathsome manners of the age, and wished to make seraphic celibacy popular and honorable among English ladies." Mrs. Mary Astell, a learned and beautiful lady, wrote an essay on the pleasures of retirement, in 1696, and proposed a sort of female college, in which "the young might be instructed, and ladies nauseating the parade of the world find a happy retirement." Queen Anne, then princess, wonderfully admired this project, and made up her mind, should she ever have it in her power, to endow it with 10,000*l*. After her accession, the whole plan was discontinued by bishop Burnet, who rang an alarm of "popery" in the ears of her majesty, and declared "that Mary Astell's college would be called a nunnery."¹ The name would have mattered little, for it was not based on any principle that would have rendered it an object of affection or of interest to the people at large. Intense self-devotion to the tuition and moral government of the poor, added to the task of soothing their miseries, and all for the abstract love of the divine Founder of Christianity, is the only principle which can draw public respect to any female communities of the convent or collegiate species. It does not appear that Mary Astell's plan, however elegant and refined, aimed at this high intent of utility. Schemes like hers have been tried before and since the days of queen Anne, but, when wanting motives of union raised above selfish expediency, they have fallen into contempt, by degenerating into knots of whimsical women occupied with wrangling factions.

The wits of the era of queen Anne were infuriated at the idea of the conventual retirement for the purposes of seraphic meditation eulogized by Mary Astell. In the *Tatler*, Swift aimed a few handfuls of dirt at her, after the fashion of his own *Yahoos*. The *Spectator* subsequently did her gentler justice,² but the envenomed shaft had sped,

¹ Scott's Notes to Swift, vol. ix. p. 3.

² In rather an affected paper, full of "*Leonora*," "*groves*," and "*purling streams*." Swift's malignity had the most literary power.

and the Protestant convent, which had won the approbation of queen Anne, and obtained her gracious promise of endowments, languished and took no root in the land. Another literary recluse graced the reign of Anne. This was Elizabeth Elstob, the daughter of a country clergyman, the gentle lady-student of Anglo-Saxon lore. There never were but two English ladies besides Elizabeth Elstob who have won public renown in this difficult path of literature, and they are both ornaments of our own times.¹ Thanks, for the preservation of much precious history of the early days of their country, are due to them. Neither the meekness of Elizabeth Elstob, however, nor her utter abstinence from challenging public attention, could defend her from the vituperation of Swift. Her contemporary, the fair Mary Astell, had probably mingled a little coquetry with her profession of seraphic celibacy, and perhaps had imbued it with some spice of romantic parade; but Elizabeth Elstob, immersed in the records of our Saxon kings and heroes, and of saintly queens and princesses, possibly departed this world without knowing there was such a person as Dr. Swift in it, much less that she had raised his spleen. The writings of these ladies belong to the days of queen Anne, but the tendency of them to a century earlier.

Female authorship of a far different tendency may likewise be traced to this era. Queen Anne had a French cook, or yeoman of the mouth, called Centlivre, whose name is connected with dramatic literature. "The Wonder," "A Bold Stroke for a Wife," and "The Busy-Body" are comedies still occasionally acted,—not that her majesty's cook made them, but he fell in love with a fellow-servant of the crown, one Mrs. Carroll, an actress, who usually came to Windsor castle to perform with others of the theatre-royal before the queen. The actress was pretty, and had withal brilliant literary talents, although she was not imbued with a very nice morality. However, the yeoman of the royal mouth wooed and married Mrs. Carroll, therefore her popular comedies are known as the works of Mrs. Centlivre.

At the commencement of the year 1704, the duchess of

¹ Lady Charlotte Guest, and Miss Anna Guerney of Norfolk.

Marlborough had successfully disunited her royal mistress and lord Rochester. She worked on the mind of the queen against her uncle by that worrying pertinacity against one object on all occasions, small and great, which seldom loses its purposes. By awakening the queen's jealousy that lord Rochester regarded her unfortunate brother with secret affection, it is supposed that the favorite carried her point. On the other side, she excited disgust in the mind of the queen's uncle by a series of affronts and insults. It is true, the duchess permitted the wife of his eldest son to become one of the ladies of the queen's bedchamber, for she expressly observes "that her majesty did not like her." There was more danger, it seems, in permitting the same advancement to the queen's cousin, the young and charming lady Dalkeith. When lord Rochester requested his royal niece to permit her, his eldest daughter, to be one of the ladies of her bedchamber, on the vacancy made by the death of the Dutch lady, Charlotte Bevervaart, he could scarcely expect denial, because she was the queen's nearest female relative in England. Nevertheless, the request was denied, under the plea that there was no vacancy; for the queen had resolved, after the death of lady Charlotte, to have only ten ladies of the bedchamber.¹ The refusal arose from long-hoarded vengeance of an old bitter grudge. The duchess of Marlborough remembered that, in the outset of her crafty career of life, lord Rochester had pointed out to James II. that some domestic locust devoured the revenues of the princess Anne, and mysteriously involved her in debt,—a denunciation which Sarah took angrily to herself. Lord Rochester had recently opposed the extravagant grant the queen had attempted to bestow on the Marlboroughs in the first months of her reign, and converted them by that act from self-seeking Tories into virulent Whigs. From that moment every early affront was perpetually recalled to the mind of Anne. The duchess tauntingly observes, "that the queen had been pleased to forgive her uncle all his ill-behavior in the reigns of king Charles king James, and queen Mary." If the queen had

¹ Conduct, pp. 133, 134.

done so, her favorite had not. With much thanksgiving to God for her own incapability of bearing malice, the duchess instigated her majesty to drive away her uncle, hinting "that he had better return to his government in Ireland."¹ All these mortifications had the effect on the mind of lord Rochester that his female foe anticipated: he flew into a passion, and resigned all his offices of state. Moreover, he refused to visit his royal niece, and never attended her councils. When these omissions and derelictions had been sufficiently pointed out to the queen, she ordered that her uncle should no longer be summoned to council, as he did not choose to attend. Her majesty added this observation:—"It is not reasonable that lord Rochester should come to council only when *he* thinks fit."²

So ended, virtually, all connection between the sons of the great lord Clarendon and his royal grand-daughter, for lord Rochester survived but a few weeks the subsequent change in the mind and feelings of queen Anne. Henry earl of Clarendon, the queen's elder uncle, was, as previously shown, a self-banished exile from her presence; and his half-witted son, lord Cornbury, whose merits in being the proto-deserter from James II. required some gratitude, was sent to play his imbecile pranks in the latter-founded English colonies of North America, which owed their existence to the statistical wisdom of that prince.³

¹ Conduct, pp. 133, 134.

² Ibid., pp. 132, 133.

³ The English colony of New York was the first in the chain of valuable colonies planted by James, when duke of York, in every quarter of the globe. The State-papers printed in Lister's Appendix of the Life of Clarendon, will give some intelligence of this fact, and of the expedition for the capture of Manhattan. There is no occasion to dwell on the facts of who supported and encouraged William Penn in his inestimable labors as a colonist, as the charters of the colony of Pennsylvania, if honestly quoted, will declare it. At the time the duke of York extended his protecting friendship to Penn, the latter was a persecuted and tormented man, involved in debt: most of his co-religionists were, withal, groaning in the horrible jails of England. The late slanderous attack on William Penn will bring the advantage of inducing research, that will soon place the truth of his connection with James Stuart, both when duke of York and king, in the clear light of open day, to the honor of both as Englishmen. Half truth is almost as bad as bold falsehood: the "Friends" cannot defend Penn effectually, without acknowledging his and their obligations to his royal benefactor.

Among other apish tricks, lord Cornbury is said, when holding his state-levees at New York, to have dressed himself in complete female court costume, and then received the principal colonists, because, truly, he represented as governor the person of a female sovereign, his cousin-german, queen Anne!¹ It is likewise said, and with great probability, that the follies of this ruler laid the foundation of that system of evil colonial government which deprived Great Britain finally of one of the brightest gems in her crown.

The duchess of Marlborough, after many shouts of triumph over the fall of the queen's uncle from his influence in the national councils and government, concludes her commentary with these words:—" 'Tis an amazing thing he should imagine he was to domineer over the queen, and everybody else, as he did over his own family." Yet, after all, it would have been less "amazing" if the queen had been "domineered" over by her uncle, than, as the case really was, by her quondam chamber-woman, for the proud duchess was originally nothing more. With the queen's uncle retreated from her government lord Jersey, the duke of Buckingham, and several powerful leaders, who had been considered personal friends of the late king James II. The earl of Nottingham remained at the head of a ministry which, although exceedingly weakened by secession, was still zealous for "high church," and was considered tory, the leading object being to prevent unconscientious dissenters from using the most solemn sacrament of the church of England as a test to obtain seats in the house of commons. It was during one of the repeated struggles to pass through the house of lords the bill preventive of this abuse that the queen penned the following deprecatory epistle to the arrogant duchess. In explanation, it must be recollected that the bill had repeatedly passed triumphantly through the house of commons, and that the contests against it were wholly in the house of lords. Meantime, the queen, notwithstanding her affected indifference in the letter, had its success, as an act of legislature, much at heart.

¹ Macpherson's Stuart Papers. Horace Walpole.

QUEEN ANNE¹ TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.*(Under the names of Morley and Freeman.)*

"Friday morning.

"I give my dear Mrs. Freeman many thanks for her long letter, and am truly sensible of the sincere kindness *you* express in it; and in return, to ease your mind, I must tell you that Mr. Bromley will be disappointed, for the prince [George of Denmark] does not intend to go to the house when the bill of *occasional conformity* is brought in."

The queen meant the bill "*against occasional conformity*," but owing to her vagueness of style, she uses terms contrary to their signification, supposing her correspondent will guess her meaning. The queen's letter is a proof that prince George (who was an occasional conformist to the rites of the church of England) actually showed the wisdom and good taste of finally remaining neuter on this point.

"I think him," continues the queen, "very much in the right *not* to vote for it. I shall not have the worse opinion of any of the lords that are for it, for though I should have been glad it had not been brought into the house of commons, because I would not have had any pretence for quarrelling, I can't help thinking, now it is as good as past there, it will be better *for the service*² to have it pass the house of lords too. I must own to you that I never cared to mention anything on this subject to you, because I knew you would not be of my mind; but since you have given me this occasion, I can't forbear saying that I see nothing like persecution in this bill. You may think it is a notion lord Nottingham has put into my head, but, upon my word, it is my own thought.

"I am in hopes I shall have one look before you go to St. Albans, and therefore will say no more now, but will answer your letter more at large some other time, and only promise my dear Mrs. Freeman, faithfully, I will read the *book* she sent me, and beg she will never let difference of opinion hinder us from living together as we used to do.

"Nothing shall ever alter your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, who will live and die, with all truth and tenderness,

"Yours."

Although the duchess of Marlborough had triumphed in the dismissal and disgrace of the queen's uncle, she was by no means satisfied with the persons who remained in power, for the house of commons was the same that had denied her the 5000*l.* per annum in perpetuity, and was therefore

¹ Conduct, p. 155.

² This phrase, as it stands, is inexplicable, unless the queen has omitted part and means to say, "*for the service of the church.*"

not likely to be guilty of any very extravagant grants of the public money. She continued a wrangling correspondence with the queen during the summer against the powers in office, till the occurrence of the great victory of Blenheim turned the scale irresistibly in her favor.

Queen Anne was sitting in her closet at Windsor castle, which commands a fine view over the north terrace, when the news of the victory of Blenheim was brought to her. For several years the banner by which the duke of Marlborough holds the manor of Woodstock was deposited in this apartment, in memory of the queen's reception of the news.¹ The closet forms a boudoir to one of the royal state-bed-chambers, where, in an alcove, is a ponderous article of furniture, being an embroidered bed of queen Anne, which was carefully preserved by the orders of George III., who would not suffer it to be displaced. By these traditions, the suites of rooms at Windsor occupied by queen Anne can be traced. On the following Thursday afternoon, colonel Parkes, aide-de-camp to his grace the duke of Marlborough, arrived express with the following letter to her grace his lady duchess, dated August 13th (N. S.).²

"I have not time to say more than to beg of you to present my humble duty to the queen, and to let her majesty know that her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, colonel Parkes, will give her majesty an account of what has passed. I shall do it, in a day or two, by another more at large.³

"MARLBOROUGH."

The news of the victory of Blenheim was received with a degree of national rapture that requires some retrospect to explain. It was the only great foreign battle that had been gained by England since that of Agincourt; in fact, the English energies had been wasted in such interior victories as those of Flodden or Pinkey fields, or the still more deplorable contests of the wars of the Roses, or the calamitous civil strife at Edgehill, Naseby, Dunbar, and Worces-

¹ Pyne's Palaces.

² Flying Post, No. 1447.

³ The duke wrote this letter on horseback, "with a leaden pencil," adds the journalist. The fac-simile of the letter is added to Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*.

ter. Not one victory had rewarded the national pride in exchange for all the blood and treasure expended by William III. in his continental wars, and the saying went through Europe, "that the island bulldogs could only tear each other." While any monarch of Great Britain retained the foolish title of sovereign of France, the English populace were as much bent on French conquest as they were in the days of the Plantagenets, and the wisest peace-ruler was unpopular if an army were not always in the field, struggling to gain a footing over the frontier of France. Englishmen had forgotten the woes and exhaustion that succeeded the brilliant conquests of the showy hero, Henry V., and were constantly sending addresses to queen Anne, as they had done to her predecessor, to remind her of the propriety of reconquering her dominions in France,—as Normandy and Aquitaine. If the queen had cherished so insane an idea, it is to be feared she would have met with only too much encouragement among all parties in England. The victory of Blenheim was therefore celebrated with unequalled splendor. The unfinished cathedral of St. Paul was the place appointed for the chanting of the *Te Deum*, and the queen went thither in procession to return thanks to Almighty God, with all the pomp of royalty. The herald's narrative was published in all the leading journals of the day. Although the event occurred only in the last century, the whole tone of the procession seems to belong to the costume of ages long past, and terms are used which are now obsolete.

"All the lords and privy councillors that were in and about the town met, at about eight in the morning, at the council chamber at St. James's, September 7, 1704. The knights of the most noble order of the Garter, wearing the collars of the said order, proceeded about ten o'clock in their coaches with six horses each, towards St. Paul's.¹ The knight-marshal with his men on horseback led the queen's procession; then the equerries and gentlemen-ushers to his royal highness, in his '*leading coach*;' then her majesty's '*leading coach*;' the women of the bed-

¹ Monthly Mercury, vol. xv. pp. 347, 348; Brit. Museum.

chamber to her majesty; the maids of honor; his royal highness's '*body-coach*,' with the lords of his bedchamber; four ladies of her majesty's bedchamber,—viz., the duchess of Somerset, the marchioness of Hartington, the lady Henrietta Godolphin,¹ and the countess of Abingdon,—in the travelling '*body-coach*;' the duke of Somerset, master of the horse, with the duke of Ormonde, the captain of the guards in waiting, in her majesty's '*body-chariot*,' each drawn by six horses. A detachment of the horse-grenadiers; then her majesty's footmen; after them the yeomen of the guard, on foot, some before and some on each side of her majesty's state-coach, in which was her majesty, with his royal highness her consort, the duchess of Marlborough, and the lady Fretcheville, being the lady of the bedchamber in waiting. Her majesty's first troop of horse-guards closed the procession. The streets through which her majesty passed were lined, from St. James's as far as Temple bar, by the militia of Westminster; from thence to St. Paul's they were railed, and hung with blue cloth, the city trained bands lining both sides; and upon scaffolds, erected for that purpose, were placed the several companies in their gowns, with their respective flags, streamers, and music. A battalion of each of her majesty's foot-guards made a lane from the west entrance into the church to the door of the choir.

"At Temple bar her majesty was met by the lord mayor, in a gown of crimson velvet, and the aldermen and sheriffs in their scarlet gowns, being all on horseback. The lord mayor alighted, made a short speech to her majesty, and surrendered to her the city sword, which she was pleased to return to him, and he carried it before her majesty to the church, the aldermen and sheriffs riding before him. Her majesty being come to St. Paul's, was met at the west door, at her alighting out of the coach, by the great officers of state, the nobility, and privy councillors, who from thence proceeded to the choir. Her majesty was led by his royal highness, and was followed by the duchess of Marlborough. The earl of Kent, lord chamberlain of her majesty's house-

¹ The Marlborough heiress.

hold, the duke of Ormonde, captain of the guard, and the duke of St. Albans at the head of the band of gentlemen-pensioners, attending the royal person. The queen and his royal highness being entered into the choir, seated themselves in two armed chairs on a throne erected at the west end thereof, opposite the altar. Behind her majesty were stools for two of the ladies of the bedchamber and the great officers in waiting, attending her majesty and his royal highness. The peers and privy councillors were placed on the north side of the choir, the ladies of the bedchamber in the stalls on the south side, and the maids of honor and her majesty's bedchamber women below them. The dean and prebendaries sat within the rails of the altar, except such as officiated in reading prayers. The Rev. Dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, preached a sermon. The great guns at the Tower, those upon the river, and the train in St. James's park were thrice discharged,—the first time when her majesty took coach at St. James's, the second at the singing of the *Te Deum*, and the third when her majesty came back to her palace.”¹

The queen still continued to defend and support the remnant of the high-church party against the constant attacks of the duchess of Marlborough. Her sentiments may be gathered from her letter written soon after her return to St. James's, 1704 :—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

(Under the name of *Morley and Freeman*.)

“St. James's, November 21.

“I had just sealed up my letter on *Saturday* night as I received the satisfaction of my dear Mrs. Freeman's of that day's date, but would not open it again, concluding I should have time either *Sunday* or yesterday.

“When *Sunday* came I had several hinderances, and yesterday I sat down to write, but was hindered by one of the Scots people coming to speak with me, or else I should not have been so long without telling you that I am very sorry you should forbear writing upon the apprehension of your letters being troublesome, since you know very well they are not, nor ever can be so, but the contrary, to your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley. Upon what my dear Mrs. Freeman says again concerning the address, I have looked it over again, and cannot, for my life, see one can put any other interpretation upon that word

¹ From a transcript in the Additional MSS., 6307, fol. 43, 44.

'pressures' than what I have done already. As to my saying the church was in danger in the late reign [William and Mary, and William *solus*], I cannot alter my opinion; for though there was no violent thing done, everybody that will speak impartially must own that everything was leaning towards the whigs, and *whenever that is, I shall think the church is beginning to be in danger.*"

It is evident that the queen's ministry, which had lingered in power through the ensuing summer, were that party which are called by Lockhart of Carnwath, Hanoverian tories; but they were not sufficiently strong without the support of those who were suspected to be Jacobite tories. Those who only recognize *two* parties in the regnal career of Anne form very imperfect ideas of the real state of affairs. It appears that the Hanoverian tories were sincerely desirous of the predominance of the established church then predominating; they likewise hoped to see the church of England earnestly supported by the Protestant heiress on whom the crown was entailed. For this purpose they sent the warmest invitation to the electress Sophia to visit England, and to bring her grandson (afterwards George II.) to be naturalized in the country over which he was destined to rule. Whether this measure was sincere on the part of lord Nottingham and his colleagues, or whether it was merely a convulsive struggle to retain office, has been considered dubious by history: perhaps both motives actuated lord Nottingham and lord Haversham, for it is certain that neither of them were Jacobites. One positive effect the invitation to the electress had: the queen, being exasperated, immediately threw herself into the arms of the whigs who negatived the invitation. The queen, directly after, notified her feelings to the watchful duchess by these passionate words:—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.¹

"I believe dear Mrs. Freeman and I shall not disagree as we have formerly done, for I am sensible of the services *those people have done me that you have a good opinion of* [the whigs], and will countenance them, and am thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of *them* [the tories] that you have been always speaking against."

This letter and the succeeding one appear to have been written by queen Anne in November, 1704, when the Han-

¹ Conduct, pp. 159, 160.

overian tory ministry was tottering to its fall. From that moment the queen gave herself up to the party of which the duchess of Marlborough was the agent and mouth-piece in their domestic life, and she sank for years into the slavery which she afterwards so bitterly deplored. The queen is supposed to have formed her alliance with the whigs during her retirement that autumn at Bath, as lord Somers and several of the leaders of that party followed her majesty thither, finding the waters needful for their constitutions. It is certain she had an interview with Somers there.¹

The riches and gratuities which the queen had vainly requested for the duke of Marlborough, and which had been peremptorily withheld by the house of commons a few months before the battle of Blenheim, were now profusely showered on the victorious general. The house of commons addressed the queen early in the ensuing year,² "that she would please to consider of some proper means to perpetuate the memory of the great services performed by the duke of Marlborough." At the close of the year the duke returned, with his prisoner, the general of the French army, count Tallard. He presented the colors taken at the battle of Hochstadt to the queen: she ordered them to be hung up in Westminster hall.

Unfortunately, the queen chose to alienate one of the most interesting historical demesnes that pertained to the crown of England. Woodstock, with all its Norman antiquities, its memories of the Plantagenets, its nymph-like baths, its mysterious labyrinths, and its haunted bowers, whispering of royal love and queenly vengeance,—Woodstock, where the peerless chevalier of the black armor, first-born son of the third Edward, unclosed his eyes to the light; where his mother, Philippa the Good, spent her young married life,—Woodstock, which Chaucer sang, and described with topographical fidelity every court, every pleasance, and every mighty tree therein, and every gothic nook and embrasure; and not only Chaucer, but

¹ Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain.

² Journals of the House of Commons, January 10, 1704-5.

elder poets of exquisite simplicity have told the tales pertaining to its glades, in strains not even now effaced from English memory.¹ Yes, the Woodstock of Henry the Beauclerk, and of Henry the Plantagenet,—the Woodstock of his much-wronged Rosamond, whether wife or deceived *fiancée*,—the Woodstock of Edward and Philippa, of the regal Elizabeth, of the beautiful Henrietta, was delivered to Vanbrugh and Sarah of Marlborough as a prey, to be defaced and destroyed, and worse, to load its green glades and lawns with heavy hideousness! The Dutch architect himself, struck with the grandeur of the royal ruins, spared them awhile, for “the purpose of prospect,” as he said; but she, with the taste of the thorough *parvenue*, never rested until the towers of Woodstock were blasted with gunpowder, and their last vestige effaced from the site.² In this exploit she seems to have been actuated by the idea that induces a person who has appropriated a horse, which he thinks may be claimed by some former owner, to cut off his mane and tail, and shave his skin. But before the duchess Sarah perpetrated her tasteless mischief, queen Anne signified in person to the house of commons, “that she was inclined to grant the honor and manor of Woodstock to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs forever, and that she desired the assistance of the house to effect it.” The act passed a few weeks subsequently, with the addition of the hundred of Wotton, in consideration of the eminent services performed by the duke of Marlborough to her majesty and the public.³ Would the grant had been thrice as much in the fattest lands that the island could furnish, so that the historical towers and bowers of Woodstock had been spared!

The queen ordered an exquisite portrait to be painted of

¹ “With that she smote her on the lips,
So dyed double red;
Hard was the heart that gave the blow,
Soft were the lips that bled.”

OLD ENGLISH BALLAD: *Queen Eleanor and Rosamond*.

² Correspondence of the duchess of Marlborough and Vanbrugh; Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum.

³ Journals of the House of Commons, March 3, 1704–5.

the duke of Marlborough, in the minutest style of miniature; instead of crystal, it was covered with a diamond of pellucid water, cut with a table surface, surrounded with an edge of brilliant facets. When the whole had been mounted in an exquisite style of art, the complete device was valued at 8000*l*. The gift, worthy of royalty, was presented by the queen to the duchess of Marlborough as a souvenir of the victory of Blenheim; it is described in the long list of jewels appended to the will of the duchess in her own handwriting, contradicting strongly her own ungrateful assertion, "that the queen never gave her a diamond, or any present worthy of notice, after her accession to the crown."¹ Lord Dartmouth, who was not inclined to extenuate any of the misdeeds of the duchess of Marlborough to the queen, declares "that she tried to sell this inestimable present of royalty, for he saw an advertisement that such a table-diamond was in the hands of a Jew to be disposed of, some years subsequent to the death of the queen."² But his lordship, like most of his contemporaries, had no information regarding the custom of the times immediately preceding his own, when this magnificent mode of covering miniatures with diamonds instead of crystals was in fashion.³ The queen had probably found this gem among the crown-jewels, and had displaced some miniature of queen Mary or queen Elizabeth, or their father, for the resemblance of her successful general.

¹ The duchess of Marlborough left the queen's costly present of the miniature of her husband, with the diamond covering, to their only surviving child, the duchess of Montague.

² Lord Dartmouth's *Notes to Burnet's Own Times*, vol. vi. p. 31, on the information of Harley earl of Oxford.

³ Many splendid gems must have been split up to produce this tabular style of cutting. The dagger of Henry VIII., sold at the Strawberry hill sale, was ornamented with balas rubies, which had been divided into long slices of surprising thinness. Miniatures, covered with diamonds, table-cut, occur in the jewel-lists of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I.; likewise in the jewel-lists of the kings of France. Indeed, the term of diamonds being "table-cut" appears to have originated in the purpose of covering some cipher or monogram in a ring or locket, or, as the arts advanced, a portrait in miniature.

The natural generosity of queen Anne found exercise by affording private relief to persons incarcerated in her prisons, especially those prosecuted by her government and in her name. About the time of the resignation of lord Nottingham as prime-minister, he left in the horrid dungeons of Newgate a remarkable object for the queen's charity, an author whose name (when he at last discovered the true bias of his genius) became and remains enduringly illustrious. This was the celebrated Defoe, who had been condemned to the pillory,¹ to an enormous fine, and to imprisonment that promised to be life-long, for writing a pamphlet called the "Shortest Way with the Dissenters." To the present hour, no mortal can tell whether it was written on the side of the non-conformists, or in favor of their enemies. Queen Anne heard of Defoe's miseries with a concern which reflects honor upon her. She sent him relief, and vainly ordered Nottingham to release him, for he remained afterwards four months in Newgate. But he shall tell the queen's conduct himself. "When her majesty came to have the truth of the case laid before her, I soon felt the effects of her goodness and compassion. At first, her majesty declared that she left all to a certain person,² and did not think he would have used me in such a manner. Her majesty was pleased particularly to inquire into my circumstances and family, and to send

¹ He stood *thrice* in the pillory, and from being an opulent London tradesman, was absolutely ruined. Defoe's life having been always written by violent political partisans, they have been altogether successful in developing his mysterious pursuits and character. He was, in the beginning of life, a hireling pamphleteer, and was, moreover, an editor,—a profession not then understood or defined. Persons brought him the subject they wished championized by his pen, and he did his best for them, just as a barrister pleads for a criminal, or prefers the plea of a plaintiff for a fee. Authors likewise hired him to fit manuscripts for publication; hence he has been considered the writer of works numerous and contradictory. Like Swift, he did not begin to write romances until his stormy political career was over, Robinson Crusoe being first published in 1719. Defoe is commonly mentioned as a naturalized Dutchman, but his biographer has clearly proved him to be of Anglo-Norman descent.

² Supposed to be the earl of Nottingham, Defoe's persecutor.—Life of Defoe, by W. Wilson, vol. ii. p. 276.

by her lord treasurer, Godolphin, a considerable supply to my wife and children, and to send me, to the prison, money to pay my fine and the expenses of my discharge. Thus obliged by the sovereign under whose administration I was suffering, could I ever act against such a queen? her who fetched me out of the dungeon and gave my family relief?"¹ When Defoe paid the above manly tribute to the memory of queen Anne, she had been for years mouldering in the grave.

Her majesty made a long sojourn at the palace of Newmarket in the spring of 1705; from thence she took her excursion to Cambridge, April 16th, accompanied by her husband and the principal persons of her household. When she alighted at the Regent walk, opposite to the schools, she was received by her kinsman, "the proud duke of Somerset," then chancellor of the university. A *regia comitia* was held at the Regent house, and honorary degrees distributed among the noblemen and gentlemen of her court, the presence of the sovereign dispensing with the necessity of the receivers having earned them by exercises and due qualifications. This day was made forever memorable in the annals of the era by the queen bestowing knighthood on Dr. Isaac Newton at Trinity college, where she held a court. Afterwards, her majesty dined in Trinity hall; and, after hearing evening service in the beautiful chapel of King's college, returned to Newmarket that night.²

Two days before the meeting of the new parliament, October 25, 1705, the queen addressed the following letter to her friend, lady Bathurst. If the closeting of members of the house of commons by James II. was justly considered illegal, the canvassing by the private letters of the constitutional sovereign of the Revolution seems some degrees worse:—

¹ This excellent action, solely emanating from her own feeling, is now for the first time added, in this late edition, to any biography of queen Anne. The circumstance is an instance of the extreme difficulty of doing justice to the good deeds of royal personages.

² Memorials of Cambridge.

QUEEN ANNE¹ TO LADY BATHURST.²"Kensington, October y^e 23.

"I doubt what I am now going to say will come too late to obtain my wish, the meeting of parliament being soe very neare y^t [that] one may reasonably believe that every one has taken their resolution who they will give their votes for to be speaker. However, I cannot help asking you whether your son is engaged or no: if he be not, I hope *you will give me your interest with him to be for Mr. Smith.*³ I look upon myself to have a particular *conserne* for Mr. Bathurst, both for his father's sake and y^e [the] long acquaintance and friendship there has been between you and me, which makes me very desirous he may *allways* behave himself rightly in everything. I do not at all doubt of his good inclinations to serve me, and *therefore* hope, tho' it should be too late to recall his resolutions as to y^e speaker, he will be careful never to engage himself soe far into any party as not to be at liberty to leave them when he sees them running into things that are unreasonable, for I shall always depend upon his concurring in everything y^t [that] is good for me and for the publick.

"I hope, when I am at St. James's, I shall see you oftener than I have *don* of late, and that you will *com*, whenever it is easyest to yourself, to her y^t will be glad to see you at any time, and is, with all sincerity, y^{rs}

"ANNE, R."

The war, meantime, which was equally brilliant in victory to the British arms both in Spain and Flanders, was carried on beyond the extent of the resources of England. But no comment of biographer or historian can do justice to the absurdity of the contest on which the blood and treasure of England were wasted in the reign of Anne, like unto the despatches of the persons in power at that day. Charles of Austria, it has been shown, had been received by queen Anne at Windsor castle, and, moreover, placed on the throne of Spain. He was held there by the might of English arms, and the almost supernatural genius

¹ Holograph, hitherto inedited. The author was favored with this document, just as these sheets were going to press, by lady Georgiana Bathurst, to whom the grateful thanks both of the author and the public are due.

² Lady Bathurst, the daughter of a valiant and loyal cavalier, sir Allen Apsley, of Apsley, in Sussex, was the wife of sir Benjamin Bathurst, the son of a loyal family. He was appointed governor of the Royal African company, established by James duke of York, and was governor of his East India company. Sir Benjamin Bathurst was likewise given by that prince great power in the establishment of his daughter Anne. He was treasurer of her household, and, after her accession, became cofferer. His son, lord Bathurst, surnamed 'the Good,' likewise married into the house of Apsley.—Burke's Peerage.

³ John Smith was actually chosen speaker of the English parliament that met October 25, 1705.—Parl. Journals, MS.

for war of lord Peterborough;¹ yet the emperor of Germany, the ungrateful father of the Austrian competitor, absolutely wounded his son's royal benefactress in the tenderest point, by refusing to give her the title of majesty. Much he might have done more injurious to the country of Great Britain, which its queen, in her historical and statistical ignorance, could not have comprehended; but this was a wound which touched Anne to the quick, for the only knowledge she had was regarding the arrangements of rank and title. Not that she was skilled in the ennobling science of the genealogist and herald, which naturally leads the mind to inquire somewhat into the deeds of those gone before, whose glories are commemorated by pedigree and scutcheon, for her mind dwelt on the mere rags of etiquette, the breadth of ribbons, the length of mantles and width of trains, and worse than all, the sort of wig (then an important part of court-costume) proper to be carried on the heads of her courtiers into her august presence. Let us judge, then, how much the bosom of the royal matron was moved when the emperor, for whose son the war which devastated central Europe had been with difficulty extended to Spain, refused to give her the title of royalty, and that, too, on the eve of an enormous subsidy! Mr. secretary Harley, when writing on this matter to the English envoy at Vienna,² thus alludes to the matter:—"Lest Mr. Hoffman [the imperial resident-minister] should dress this business in frightful colors, you should be provided with materials to represent the matter of fact rightly. It is as follows:—The Sunday before I went to the country, May 13th, count Gallas desired me to procure him an audience with the queen, for he told me 'that he had a *lettre de cachet*³ to deliver to the queen, wrote with the emperor's own hand.' At his audience, he delivered to the queen the letter written by the emperor, and another from the German chancery, both in Latin, which the queen put into my hand."

¹ The lord Monmouth of the preceding volume.

² Stepney Papers, No. 2, 7059.

³ Sealed private letter.

Under the veil of Latin, the imperial ministers had prepared this insult to queen Anne, by denying her the title of majesty, and treating her as if she were a petty vassal of the empire. Owing to ignorance, the royal matron innocently took the emperor's letter, and dismissed the bearer with approbation; but when Harley examined the Latin, and found that the emperor's ministers had mentioned the majesty of England merely by the title of "serenity," he thought proper to question Hoffman, when the next German brought imperial missives, "whether his royal mistress was addressed by the title of majesty?" "No," replied the Austrian envoy. "Then," said secretary Harley, "my queen will not look upon it."¹ This was proper, but the dignity of the British crown had already been compromised by the ignorant mind and sluggish apprehension of her who wore it. It was not always thus. Former queens-regnant of England would have comprehended the insult at a glance, and returned the arrogant missive to the hand that brought it, with such an exordium in extempore Latin as would have made the ears of the imperialist tingle for a month. There cannot be a more striking illustration than this incident affords, of the contrast between the lightning intellect of queen Elizabeth and the dull apprehension of queen Anne.

Since the prosperous accession of queen Anne to the throne of Great Britain, her conscience, and all the affection for her near relatives which had awakened when she stood by the death-bed of her son the duke of Gloucester, had been lulled to sleep. But in the year 1705, a letter was known to pass through the Hague from St. Germain's to queen Anne: it contained a beautiful miniature of her young brother. It was ascertained that it reached the queen's hands safely, that she gazed on the picture, and, recognizing the strong Stuart resemblance that no one can deny to the expatriated heir, she kissed it, and wept over it piteously.² It was verified more touchingly to her by the striking likeness of features and expression to her lost

¹ Stepney Papers; letter of Harley, July 3, 1705.

² Lamberty, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du 8^{me} Siècle*, tom. viii. p. 656.

son, the duke of Gloucester. Notwithstanding this access of feeling in her hours of seclusion, Anne, finding that the whig party had carried majorities in the house of commons, complied with the temper of the times, and consented to form her agents of government entirely from their ranks. The duchess of Marlborough drilled her into appointing the Cowpers to places of importance,—a very sore trouble to Anne, since the modes of thinking and acting of both these brothers were little consistent with the usages of any denomination of Christians. The people raised the woful wail of the “church in danger,” when they found their queen place the great seal in the hands of sir William Cowper.¹ The following witty *jeu d’esprit* was handed through the literary coffee-houses in London, and dropped in manuscript in the thoroughfares by night:—

“When Anna was the church’s daughter,
She did whate’er that mother taught her;
But now she’s mother to the church,
She leaves her daughter in the lurch.”

From the diary² of the new keeper of queen Anne’s conscience, curious particulars present themselves of her regnal life and her mode of performing its duties in the interior of the palace. It seems that sir William Cowper had his doubts whether or not he was appointed wholly against the queen’s consent; and as he had driven an unexampled bargain of profit to himself on his appointment,

¹ The following note, by sir Walter Scott, casts some light on the disgust the people felt at these appointments. The tenor of the new lord chancellor’s life, and that of his brother, did not promise much regard to the ordinances of the church he was bound by his office to protect. “Some unfortunate stains,” observes sir Walter Scott, rather dryly, in one of his notes to Swift, “are attached to this *ingenious* family. Lord-chancellor Cowper was branded with bigamy, because he had written a work on plurality of wives, and had, adds Voltaire, actually *two* lady Cowpers in his domestic *régime*. His brother, *the judge*, had previously been tried for the murder of a young woman, one Sarah Stout, whom he had deluded by a feigned marriage, while he had a wife alive. The poor creature, a beautiful young Quakeress, was found drowned in a pond, and he was the last person seen in her company, under circumstances of great suspicion.”

² MSS. among the Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum, vol. xiv. It is, as far as the author is aware, hitherto inedited.

he was naturally desirous to ascertain whether the queen would let him remain long enough to reap the rich fruits of peerage, pension, allowance for equipage, and other goodly profits. To ease his mind, lord Godolphin put into his hands a letter written throughout by the queen to the duke of Marlborough, with the observation, "that as it was penned while lord Godolphin was at Newmarket, it must perforce be the genuine emanation of her mind."—"Her majesty," observes her new lord keeper,¹ very naïvely, "expressed as much concern for the good of her country as if her letter was intended to be made public,"—a first-rate piece of satire on the patriotism of that era, but apparently mentioned as a simple matter of unbelief in the possibility of such feelings being genuine in any one, and never assumed excepting as a popular grimace. Another clause in the royal letter is, "that *the two lords* had so behaved themselves, that it was impossible for her ever to employ them again;" whereupon the heads of the junta, lords Halifax, Somers, and Godolphin, "expounded" the two misbehaving lords to be "the queen's uncle, lord Rochester, and the earl of Nottingham."

At noon the queen was in her closet at Kensington palace, for the purpose of receiving her new lord keeper; her treasurer, lord Godolphin, went there to prepare her for the interview, leaving the expectant dignitary waiting in the royal bedchamber, which the queen and her prime-minister presently entered, and there the presentation took place, Anne herself making this laconic address to her lord keeper:—"I am very well satisfied of your fitness for the office of keeper of the great seal;" and then she personally delivered it to him. When he had made the usual professions of honesty but incapacity, each of which terms should have been reversed, he kneeled down and kissed the queen's hand, asking at the same time "her leave to go out of town, in order to avoid the clamors of solicitation for places in his gift." The same night, being Friday, October

¹ He was not lord chancellor until two years afterwards. Lord Somers was the actual lord chancellor, but, for some reason, the office had been for many years transacted by a lord keeper of the seal.

12, 1705, the queen received in council at Kensington his oaths of allegiance and church supremacy, and he does not forget to record that he paid 26*l.* as fees for each oath.¹ Such were the makings of a lord chancellor, or lord keeper, in the days of queen Anne,—a sovereign who has only been removed by one personal link from human memory in the present day.

Lest our readers should imagine that the writer is guilty of that hateful trope, an historical paradox, the solution of this seeming enigma is here offered, showing over what a wide space of history human life may be extended. Queen Anne, it is well known, not only spoke to the great Dr. Johnson, but, as already recorded, touched him when a boy for his woful affliction of king's evil; now, many persons at present in existence have heard the late Eleanor, dowager-countess of Cork, dilate on her favorite topic of her conversations with her friend Dr. Johnson. Thus there was, very lately, a living link between the present generation and the person to whom queen Anne had spoken, and even touched; but, oh! how many armies, fleets, heroes, orators, statesmen, and even dynasties of sovereigns have passed away during those two long lives, which thus mysteriously linked the breathing present with the silent historical past.

The queen received the personal services of her new lord keeper the next Sunday, being October 14th, when he marched before her from the palace of St. James to the chapel; and he adds, "A little before anthem finished, I went up after sermon to her closet, and so returned before her to her *lodgings* again,"—meaning the suite of private apartments in the palace, where her majesty usually resided. There was an important meeting a few days afterwards of the whig junta, of which Halifax, who did not even affect to believe in Christianity, was the presiding spirit; the object was (now they thought the foot of power was upon the neck of our church) to alter her prayers and ordinances to suit *their* views. "In the evening," says the lord keeper, who was to be one of the principal instruments

¹ Cowper MS. Diary. Coxe MSS.; Brit. Museum.

of this rending and dislocating, "I visited with my lord Halifax, and met the duchess of Marlborough, who declined all acknowledgment I offered of thanks for my advancement; and waiving that talk, went on to other subjects, and in the whole, expressed herself very averse from the high church."¹ She could not have poured her detestation into more willing ears than those of this creature of her advancement, since he notes "taking the sacrament, as a test to *qualify* him for his office." Never did a period look darker for the church: on whichever side, destruction seemed at hand. There were few in the places of her dignitaries but had been professors of some species of dissent. The queen's husband was a dissenter, and, it was supposed, no very warm friend to the establishment; her acknowledged favorite and ruler, the violent duchess, loudly proclaimed her hatred to the church of England, and she headed a mighty band of avowed freethinkers, then in power; the queen herself was harboring resentfully some affront from the plain-speaking of her uncle, and her favorite was helping her "nurse her wrath to keep it warm."

When all these circumstances are considered, the cry of the people of England, who watched the proceeding of the court with angry jealousy, that "the church was in danger," seems not so unfounded as the historians of the times would make us believe. But that cry had some effect on the enemies of the church; they might deface and sap, but they were forced to leave the venerable fabric standing. "At night," says the new lord keeper, "I visited the prince of Denmark at Kensington, whose compliment to me was, 'that he was glad the queen had made so good a choice for the great seal.' I assured him 'none was more devoted to his service, both because he was always in the *true interest* of England, and also for that I knew there was no surer way to render my poor services acceptable to her majesty than in my being first accepted by himself.'" ² Lord chief-justice Holt came forward to exonerate himself to lord-keeper Cowper from the prevailing report, that he

¹ Cowper MS. Diary; Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

had warmly remonstrated with the queen against his advancement.

The diary of the lord keeper plainly shows the queen exercising the royal functions of disposing, not only of the dignities, but of the livings and benefices of the church that were in the appointment of the crown, according to the dictates of her conscience. Her own letters, and those of the duchess of Marlborough, affirm the same fact. Whether the exercise of this power be best intrusted to the will of the sovereign, or regulated by an ecclesiastical commission of bishops appointed by the crown, as in the reigns of the first Anglo-Stuarts, or, as of old, by elective powers of the church herself, with the temporal dignities and emoluments anciently granted by the crown, is no vocation of ours to declare; but only to say, that on whom soever this mighty and onerous duty devolves, there should the responsibility rest. Queen Anne had not only the responsibility of this department of her high functions, but positively and virtually exercised it. The proof is from the manuscript of this lord keeper, as follows:—"Sunday, March 21st. Waited on the queen: walked before her to chapel [St. James's] the second time. Cabinet council at six at night; I spoke the first time in council. At the said council the queen desired that her speech might be prepared, which the secretary was ordered to do.¹ After which the queen withdrew, and I was admitted into her bedchamber; and there I laid before her two livings for which presentations were desired, which she received very kindly, and said 'she would discourse with me further next opportunity.'" Here the decision is plainly left to the communings of the queen's own thoughts, and many a

¹ Here occurs a curious marginal note by lord Hardwicke, explanatory of this custom and the usages of royalty. "I believe," says the MS. of lord Hardwicke, "that function, viz., writing the royal speech, having been long in the great seal, is *reverted back* to the secretaries of state." "*Reverted back*," means, if anything, that the secretaries of state are considered as the *royal private secretaries*, for as such alone could they have prepared the speeches of Henry VIII. and his daughter Elizabeth. Perhaps in the middle ages the lord chancellors (always churchmen) prepared the speeches of the English sovereign; hence the phrase, "keeper of the king's conscience."

quarrel afterwards ensued between her majesty and her furious favorite, the duchess of Marlborough, on account of the slowness of the royal resolve¹ in appointing such churchmen as the predominant junta prompted to her. Far astray from her functions as mistress of the robes, or groom of the stole, did this bold woman go when she dared to open her lips to dictate to her mistress the appointments in the church. In the fits of irresolution under which the poor queen labored, the upstart tyrant would enter her presence with a flouncing swing, and quicken her majesty's determination with the somewhat vulgar exclamation of, "Lord, madame! it *must* be so."²

The queen opened her parliament after her speech had passed the consultations of several cabinet councils, and been deemed fitting for the occasion. It must have been a very remarkable one, although the passages recorded in it by her lord keeper have escaped the attention of the historians of her reign:—"She promised her people 'to take care of the church;' at which clause the lord mayor, sir Thomas Rawlinson, at his dinner-table jeered before the lord keeper, a few days after,³ her majesty's expressions not pleasing him." Queen Anne likewise spoke "of calumnies afloat regarding herself."⁴ On these calumnies Dr. Stanhope, preaching before the queen, made her a most extraordinary address from the pulpit, "persuading her to bear the slander taken notice of in her last speech, with Christian patience; and he spoke with *smartness* [sharpness] against it at the same time. 'Twas thought, some months before, he would not have preached such sermons," adds the lord keeper.⁵ Stanhope was not likely to please the lord keeper; he had been long a nonjuror, and was now one of the most powerful writers in the reformed church of England. The old roundhead epithet, "malignant party," is, in the ensuing page, applied by the

¹ Two letters from the duchess of Marlborough, and one from the queen on this subject; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum. Likewise various passages (much modified in print) throughout the *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*.

² Scott's *Swift*; the information from eye-witnesses, Harley and Abigail Masham, and probably lady Winchelsea and the duchess of Ormonde.

³ Cowper Diary. Coxe's MSS.; Brit. Museum.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

new lord keeper to those anxious to preserve the liturgies and observances of the church of England.

Cowper attended divine service at Westminster abbey as "speaker of the house of lords." He mentions the fact of the offertory for the poor distinct from other contributions. His words are, "I gave at *the basin* one guinea, and silver to the poor." This was one of the usages his party was earnest to alter, and which they contrived to bring into disuse in the days of George I. Of course, the influence the dispensation of this charity gave the regular clergy was great. The queen's privilege of disposing of the livings, according to his preceding narrative, was, in a very few days, carped at by her new lord keeper, who thus describes a discussion between himself and the conforming archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison, "about," lord keeper Cowper says, "disposing the livings in *my* gift; and I have promised the queen 'to present as she directed in all the valuable ones.' The archbishop said 'he feared it would be under worse management than when under the late keeper's servants, by the importunity of the women and hangers-on at court;' and promised to endeavor, with me, to get that matter in a better train."¹

¹ Cowper's Diary. In common justice to queen Anne, whose resistance to the disposal of livings by her state-ministers drew on her the furious abuse of the duchess of Marlborough and all her party, and a succession of historians to the present age, a glance ought to be given at the working of the system when, subsequently, crown patronage was successfully wrested out of the hands of the sovereign, and placed in those of the lord chancellor for the time being, as it has remained for the last hundred and thirty years. While the Diary of lord-chancellor Cowper was being incorporated into this biography, the clerical nephew of a late lord chancellor has departed this life, possessed of a rectory valued by some at 3000*l.*, by others at 2127*l.* per annum; a prebendary of upwards of 600*l.*, another rectory worth upwards of 500*l.*, another upwards of 500*l.*, a vicarage worth nearly 200*l.* The utmost research has not been able to furnish an instance of so unequal a distribution of the livings of the church made by the sovereigns of England in the seventeenth century, or by the ecclesiastical commissioners (whom they authorized in the place of the more apostolic elections of the primitive church), or even by the veto of queen Anne herself. And if such grasping appropriations took place within the memory of man, when advances have been made towards a better order of things by the improving rectitude of public feeling, what must they have been under the corrupt sir Robert Walpole, who nominated the dissenter-bred Secker to Canterbury, and the pirate Blackburne to York? The son of the man (sir Robert Walpole) who made

Queen Anne has spared her biographer the trouble of either discussing or vindicating her from this ill-natured charge by these two dignitaries. In her reply to their agent, the duchess of Marlborough, her majesty fully exonerates herself from the charge of listening to the advice of her female servants on the disposal of church preferments; indeed, it seems that this presumptuous *parvenue* was the *only* one "among her women" who dared open her lips on a subject so utterly unbecoming her station and vocation:—

THE QUEEN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.¹

"I had the satisfaction last night of hearing from my dear Mrs. Freeman, by my lord Fitz[harding], and should have thanked you for it then, but that I did not receive it till after I came from taking the air, which was too late to begin to write before I went to supper, and afterwards it is not really easy for me to do it. I cannot say so much to you as I would, but must answer *that part of your last letter that concerns my lord keeper and his livings*. I have a very good opinion of him, and would depend upon his recommendation on any occasion sooner than on most people's. But as to this particular, I think the crown can never have too many livings at its disposal, and therefore, though there may be some trouble in it, it is a power I can never think reasonable to part with; and I hope that those that come after me will be of the same mind. I own I have been very much to blame in being so long in disposing of those livings; but when these are filled up, there shall be no more complaints of me on that account. You wrong me very much in thinking I am influenced by some you mention in disposing of church preferments. Ask those whom I am sure you will believe, though you won't me, and they can tell you I never disposed of any without advising with them, and that I have preferred more people upon other's recommendations than I have upon *his*, that you fancy to have so much power with me. You have reason to wonder there *is* no more changes made yet; but I hope, in a little time, Mr. Morley [prince George] and I shall redeem our credit with you, at least in that matter, which now is all that I can trouble

these prelates is the witness giving them characters appalling to humanity; such censure being, *if true*, the severest reproach to a father, of whose fame he is sedulously jealous.—Memoirs of the Reign of George II., with notes by the late lord Holland, vol. i. pp. 65, 87, 347. Contrary facts may be quoted, to the honor of the reformed church of England, in the conduct of the clergy bred under her guidance previous to the Revolution. The noble pecuniary sacrifices of Sancroft and Barrow towards amplifying wretched livings, the resistance of Dr. Hooper, when tempted by queen Mary II. to entangle himself with pluralities, and the apostolic attention of Ken to the miserable victims of the Monmouth rebellion, are instances familiar to the readers of this work.

¹ Coxe's MS. Papers, vol. xlv. f. 1.

my dear Mrs. Freeman with, but that her poor unfortunate Morley will be *faithfully yours to her last moment.*"

(Remark by the duchess, as endorsement.)

"The letter was in answer to one I had writ, to tell her *not to be so long before she disposed of the livings to the clergy*; adding, how safely she might put power into the hands of such a man as my lord Cowper."

There are hints in the following letter, as if the smothered warfare was in the act of breaking into open hostilities between the queen and her favorite, who appears to have checked the slightest indication of forgetfulness in minute points of observance, not only as due to herself, but to the various connections which she had made her own by the marriage of her daughters. Prince George was the offending party in the remonstrance she had addressed to queen Anne, which is not forthcoming like the queen's humble apology:—

THE QUEEN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.¹

[Date, after 1705.]

"I am very sorry my lord treasurer's [Godolphin] cold is so bad, and I will be sure to speak to the prince to command all his servants to do their duty. If they do not obey him, I am sure they do not deserve to be any longer so, and I shall use my endeavors that they may not; but I hope they will not be such *villians*, and if they do not do what they ought, I am certain it will be none of the prince's *falt*. I am in such haste I can say no more, but that I am very sorry dear Mrs. Freeman will be so unkind as not to come to her poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, who loves her sincerely, and will do so to her last moment."

Curious council scenes, recorded by the pen of the lord-keeper Cowper, or by the queen's private chaplain, Dr. Birch, now and then occur among other discussions relative to the interference of England in an insurrection of the Protestants in the Cevennes, which took place in the spring of 1706. The queen's council disputed fiercely, whether her majesty (at the same time she accepted their aid) was not to call them rebels? and it was only carried by one vote that this courteous epithet was not applied to these new allies. The queen herself, it may be gathered, was not so uncivilly disposed to the Cevennois, since a very grave nobleman was heard to reply to some remarks she

¹ Coxe's Papers, inedited hitherto; vol. xlv. f. 147.

made at the council-board, "What! will your majesty assist rebels?"¹ The queen, with the French Protestants in that district, unfortunately gained the aid of a man who may, in every respect, be considered the most thorough specimen of a "*mauvais sujet*" that ever renounced his country; this was the terrific sinner, abbot Guiscard, whose exploits as an assassin, some time subsequently, filled England with consternation, and actually brought danger nearer to the queen's person than she had ever before experienced.

On one point general historians are by no means agreed, which is, whether the Protestant heiress of the British crown, the princess Sophia, manifested any eager desire of encouraging her partisans in England to make the reigning queen uneasy? There is much contradiction among the letters and statements of the three struggling parties; but the result of the inquiry is, that the conduct of the princess Sophia was unexceptionable, as it had ever been. The following extract from the journal of lord-keeper Cowper gives the official answer of the princess to all the invitations which had been agitated by the Hanoverian tories during the winter of 1704, and the succeeding summer. "At the queen's cabinet-council, Sunday, November 11, 1705. Foreign letters read in her majesty's presence: the substance remarkable. That at Hanover was a person, agent from the discontented party here, to invite over the princess Sophia and the electoral prince [George II.] into England, assuring them that a party here was ready to propose it. That the princess Sophia had caused the said person to be acquainted, 'that she judged the message came from such as were enemies to her family; that she would never hearken to such a proposal but when it came from the queen of England herself;' and, withal, she had discouraged the attempt so much that it was believed nothing more would be said in it."² The moderate and humane conduct of the princess Sophia—conduct which the irrefragable evidence of events proved was sincere and true—did not mollify the burning jealousy of queen Anne. If

¹ Birch MSS., 4221, art. 6.

² Cowper MS. Diary. Coxe's Papers; Brit. Museum.

we may believe the correspondence of the Jacobite writer, Dr. Davenant, angry letters were written by queen Anne to the princess Sophia, who, knowing how little she had deserved them, and being of a high spirit, retorted with displeasure, yet did not alter the intrinsic integrity of her conduct.¹ The duchess of Marlborough was reckless in her abuse of the Protestant heiress,² and it is certain, by her letters, that she worked on the mind of the queen with all her might, to keep up her jealousy and alarm regarding the advent of her high-minded cousin Sophia. A running fire of angry correspondence was actually kept up between the queen and the princess Sophia, from March 5, 1705. It was renewed at every violent political agitation, until we shall see the scene of this world's glory close almost simultaneously on both the royal kinswomen.

Queen Anne, like all her ancestors since the days of Henry V., was served upon the knee on occasions of state.³ Exceptions were pointed out when this ceremonial was dispensed with in her domestic life, the authority being Abigail Hill (then lady Masham),⁴ who supplied Mrs. Howard, bedchamber woman to queen Caroline, consort of George II., with a programme of the palace routine of the English queens-regnant. Abigail shows that, in some degree, like the attendants of the queens of France, the bedchamber woman transferred her service to any lady of rank who happened to make her *entrée* at the royal toilette. The bedchamber woman came into waiting before the queen's prayers; and before her majesty rose, if any lady of the bedchamber was present, the bedchamber woman handed her the queen's linen, and the lady put it on her majesty. Every time the queen dressed in the course of the day, her

¹ Stepney Papers; letters of Dr. Davenant of that date.

² MSS. of the duchess of Marlborough; Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum.

³ Such appears to have been the custom of the English royal family, introduced from the era when Henry V. was partially recognized as *suzerain* of France, after his entry of Paris and marriage with the French princess. The illuminated MSS., representing the courts of the earlier Plantagenets, give no indication of any such custom.

⁴ Letter of Dr. Arbuthnot to Mrs. Howard, afterwards countess of Suffolk, written from lady Masham's dictation.—Suffolk Correspondence.

habiliments made the same formal progress from hand to hand. The princesses of the blood in France had the privilege of passing their queen's garments from one to the other, till the princess of the highest rank came to clothe her majesty, who has been known to stand shivering in the midst of the circle of her ladies while the most needful articles of apparel were travelling round the room from one noble or princely dame to another, according to the rigor of precedence. Queen Anne was somewhat less tormented with these transfers than were the queens of France; her fan, it is true, made rather a circuitous progress before it came safely to her royal hand. "When the queen washed her hands, her page of the back-stairs brought and set down upon a side-table a basin and ewer. Then the bedchamber woman placed it before the queen, and knelt on the other side of the table over against the queen, the lady of the bedchamber only looking on. The bedchamber woman poured the water out of the ewer on the queen's hands. The bedchamber woman pulled on the queen's gloves when her majesty could not do it herself," which was often the case, owing to her infirmity of gout. It will be remembered, that in the performance of this duty, the chain that so long bound queen Anne to the imperious dame of Marlborough was accidentally reft and broken. "The page of the back-stairs," proceeds Abigail, "was always called to put on the queen's shoes. When queen Anne dined in public, the page reached the glass to her bedchamber woman, and she to the lady in waiting." In due time it arrived at the lips of royalty. "The bedchamber woman brought her majesty's chocolate, and," observes Abigail, "gave it to the queen *without kneeling*." In fact, the chocolate was taken by queen Anne in the privacy of her chamber, and just previously to lying down to repose, this too-nourishing supper tending greatly to increase the obesity of the royal matron. The royal dinner-hour was exactly at three, and both the queen and prince George manifested no little uneasiness if ministers of state intruded upon that time. At six o'clock was the usual hour for the queen's councils. On Sunday evening the most important cabinet-councils were

held. The queen usually ate a heavy supper, and it may be seen, by her recently-quoted letter, that writing after that meal was "not easy" to her. At the public dinners, when royalty admitted the loving lieges of their commonalty to look on, solemn etiquette was observed, first introduced by the Lancastrian kings, and even amplified by the Tudors.¹ Such usages were first altered by the kings of the Hanoverian line, according to the following notation of Defoe:—² "Charles II., James II., William, Mary, and Anne, whenever they dined in public, received their wine on the knee from a man of the first quality, lord of the bedchamber in waiting; and even when they washed their hands, that lord on his knee held the basin. But king George hath entirely altered that, as he dines privately at St. James's."

Lord-keeper Cowper has left several notices of queen Anne's proceedings at council. "When the queen came into the cabinet-council, she sent the secretary two letters to read, one from the king of Spain, the other from lord Peterborough," who was then prosecuting the succession-war in Spain, with small resources, yet in a manner that almost rivalled the military glory of Marlborough. Each party had his hero, and duly depreciated all that was done by the other. Small were the lasting results that arose from the vaunted victories of either. It was the custom for the queen to bring the letters she received from foreign potentates on affairs of state to her cabinet-council, and send them to the secretary of state to read aloud. Sometimes a little embarrassment took place; for instance, one evening, when a rather curious letter from lord Raby, the queen's resident-minister at Berlin, was read, he observes, 'that the old king of Prussia, surnamed 'the Corporal,' had drunk with him 'Confusion to those who first deserted the allied powers against France,'—a strong assurance," adds lord Cowper,³ dryly, "from a German prince." The

¹ Despatches of La Motte Fenelon, who says the people fell on their knees whichever way the queen looked.

² A Journey through England.

³ Cowper MS. Diary; Brit. Museum.

queen's consort, prince George of Denmark, being then sitting at the council-table, the next letter unfortunately alluded to him; "it was a despatch from Copenhagen, complaining 'that the king of Denmark was pushed on by prince George, his uncle, to insist on some injurious arrangement concerning Lubeck, on account of the narrowness of the prince's continental estate.' When the secretary came to this awkward passage, his only resource was to read it so low, that the prince of Denmark, although sitting by, could not hear it."¹ Another of the interior scenes of queen Anne's government was, pricking the sheriffs at the privy council. "The queen being present, the lord-keeper handed the roll to the clerk of the council, who stood by the queen, and read over aloud the gentlemen named for the counties in order. If no lord in the privy council objected, her majesty usually pricked the first named of the three."² Such ceremonial clearly referred to the times when the possessor of the royal power could not write, and, moreover, decided by a species of chance-medley out of the three names presented, as if either were equally in favor or eligible; therefore no affront was involved in the preference. After the regal part of this singular ceremony was concluded, the roll was handed by the clerk to the lord keeper, and the "riding six-clerk"³ came to that dignitary for it "to make the patents by." In those stormy times this document was sometimes mysteriously missing or made away with when wanting for official purposes, on which account the former lord keeper always obliged the "riding-clerk" to give him a receipt⁴ for the roll her majesty had pricked. The state-machinery in this department was not always effective, and alterations were occasionally needed; these were effected by the queen writing with her own hand "*Vacatur*" on the side of the roll, against any objectionable name which she might have pricked. She then pricked another of the two remaining, or if reasons had come to light that neither of the three were eligible for sheriffs, the queen, with her own hand,

¹ Cowper MS. Diary; Brit. Museum.

² So written by lord Cowper.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

inserted a fourth name. Such revision was found needful in 1705, eight or nine days subsequently to the first ceremony, and was still further carried on early in the new year. "The queen, Saturday, January 5, 1705-6, having a mind to alter the sheriff of Stafford, appointed a council, but could not come, being hindered by the gout; the council and clerks were therefore admitted into her bedchamber, or closet, where she lay on a couch, and there she writ the new sheriff's name on the roll."¹ Throughout that month, cabinet councils were noted as held in the queen's bedchamber, or in the closet, where she was confined to her couch with the gout. "On one of these occasions," says lord-keeper Cowper, "I was alone with the queen in her closet. She asked me 'to propose a judge for England, and a chief baron for Ireland.' I said that 'I understood her majesty had *reduced* her thoughts to two, sir John Hawles and Mr. Dormer.'—'Yes,' replied the queen. 'Yet lately I have had reason not to have so good an opinion of sir John Hawles;' meaning, I suppose [adds lord Cowper], 'his late foolish speech for the clause against offices² in the house of commons.' As to the Irish chief baron, I stated to the queen 'the difficulty of procuring a fit man;' and told her it was the interest of England to send over as many magistrates thither as possible from hence, *that* being the best means of preserving the dependency of Ireland on England." The observation will not be lost, for even under the Tudors and Stuarts, men who had some share in the native blood of Ireland, and consequently some feeling for her miseries, were permitted to govern her. The Fitzgeralds, the Eustaces, the Talbots, the Butlers, those noble Norman-Hibernian lines were invested now and then with power in the government of their native land, even by the jealous Henry VIII. A new system arose with William III., and the dialogue between queen Anne and the lord

¹ Cowper MS. Diary; Brit. Museum.

² The changes of the times had produced some anomalies which the people did not like; scarcely a member sat in the house of commons who was not an officer either in the army or navy. Like one of the parliaments under king William, it was called "the officers' parliament."

keeper of her conscience is curiously illustrative of it, reminding one irresistibly of the refrain of some old Jacobite song, which, enumerating sarcastically the care queen Anne took of Ireland, says :—

“She sends us our *judges*, our bishops, our deans,
And better she’d give us, if *better* she had !”¹

Slight as was the share of power of any kind enjoyed by queen Anne, she took fire at the idea presented to her of the independence of Ireland, slyly suggested by her cunning lord keeper, and rejoined, in the phraseology peculiar to herself, “I understand that they [the Irish] have a mind to be independent, but that they shall *not*.”² In all probability, the “independence” discussed in this notable historical dialogue was merely that of the Irish parliament, which, by an iniquitous ordinance called ‘Poyning law,’ had, in the time of queen Elizabeth, been subjected in all its acts to the dictation of the English privy council. About ten days afterwards the queen received Mr. Dormer, and gave him her hand to kiss on his appointment to the judge’s place; but her majesty seems to have persisted in her objections to the chief justice for Ireland.

It is just possible that her new lord keeper, on reading over his last notation on the arcana of government as transacted between himself and his royal mistress, thought that he was betraying too far the secrets of the prison-house even to his private note-book, since he declares “he must break off, for he has sore eyes;” and that if he begins again, he must put his journal into short method—perhaps short-hand, which, in fact, made it as illegible to most readers as if written in the Greek character, or in regular cipher. It is evident, from many expressions in the Cowper diary, that there was a scheme in agitation between the conforming archbishop of Canterbury, Tennyson, the lord keeper, and the duchess of Marlborough to alter the English liturgy, which providentially never took place; probably the following dateless autograph letter of queen Anne was written while this scheme was in course of agitation :—

¹ Jacobite Relics; Appendix.

² Cowper MS. Diary.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.¹

"Tuesday. [No date.]

"MY LORD:—

"This is to desire you would do me the favor, on Tuesday morning about eleven, to bring me the alteration that is to be made in the Common-Prayer, which you are to lay before the great council [privy council] that day, because I should be glad to see it before it comes thither.

"I am, your very affectionate friend,

"ANNE, R."

Endorsed—"For the Archbishop of Canterbury."

Another great victory having been won by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies, Whit-Sunday, 1706, another splendid thanksgiving-procession was made by the queen to St. Paul's. Lord Peterborough threw up his command in Spain the same summer; he was succeeded by one of William III.'s naturalized military colony, who, in a few weeks, lost the battle of Almanza, as lord Peterborough predicted he would.²

In the course of the contests regarding the nomination of her son-in-law, lord Sunderland, to the important offices of lord privy-seal and, soon after, secretary of state, the duchess of Marlborough treated the queen with unexampléd insolence, such as probably was never used, even by the mighty Gallican nobles called 'mayors of the palace' to their wretched *rois fainéants* of the Merovingian or Carolingian dynasties. The immediate dispute between the

¹ From Lambeth palace library, 941, f. 66; a holograph, but copied from a transcript in Brit. Museum.

² Lord Peterborough, in his letter to admiral Wassenaar, August 23, 1706, positively affirms, that after two months' incessant urging, nothing could induce Charles of Austria to advance to Madrid and seize the crown of Spain, which the British arms had conquered for him. The letters of Peterborough (Stepney MSS., Brit. Museum), describing the personal impracticability of the German candidate for the crown of Spain, and the utter uselessness of the blood and conquests wasted for him, elicited from Marlborough, in a letter to Godolphin, some remarks written with as much spitefulness against Peterborough as the systematic smoothness of Marlborough permitted him to display. Marlborough names the Hanoverian tory party in the correspondence alluded to the *new party*, and, without entering further into the dull and intricate details of the whigs and tories of the reign of Anne, the faction of Marlborough, Sunderland, and Godolphin, whose principle it was to carry on a war forever, and the faction of Harley, Peterborough, and Bolingbroke, who more reasonably wished to make peace, may be dated from after this period in 1706.

queen and her tyrant arose from Anne's long reluctance to appoint the son-in-law of her female *maire du palais* to the most responsible offices in the English government, every other appointment being already crowded with the Marlborough relatives. Whatsoever sympathy the world in general may feel with the duchess of Marlborough when she taunts her royal mistress with the misfortunes of her family, and above all, with those of her father, James II., it ought to be remembered that it was the boundless indulgence of the latter, and his misplaced trust in Sarah and her husband, that were the immediate causes of the misfortunes with which she reproaches his daughter, who was at the same time a partner in her guilt. Moreover, the queen was in the right respecting the wisdom and justice of the question, even as it regarded the public weal. It was injurious to the cause of the people at large that the greatest offices of state should be monopolized by *one* family; commander-in-chief, lord treasurer, secretaries of state,—all filled by Marlborough, his sons-in-law, and the father of another son-in-law. Their connections, meantime, appropriated all lucrative offices, and the daughters formed a phalanx of ladies of the bedchamber round the queen; while the imperious mother, as mistress of the robes and groom of the stole, was supreme over the palace officials, and even royalty itself.

Queen Anne was likewise right in her antipathy to investing lord Sunderland with great power; his enormous defalcations, a few years afterwards, proved but too well that he was best at a distance from the temptation of money.¹ Moreover, lord Sunderland resolved to fill whatsoever bishoprics fell vacant according to his own pleasure. Now, lord Sunderland affected not to belong to any denomination of Christianity; can the unhappy queen be blamed if she resisted, to the utmost of her power, the appointment of prelates who suited the ideas or interest of such a man? As the following odious letter was written by this person's mother-in-law instead of going to church one Sun-

¹ See lord Mahon's brilliant History of England after the Peace of Utrecht, especially his narrative of the South-Sea bubble.

day morning, just at the time of the strong resistance of the queen to appoint lord Sunderland her secretary of state, it may be presumed that resistance was the matter in dispute. The manner in which the palace despot speaks to her queen of "*Mrs. Morley's post*," and "*Mrs. Morley's place*,"—meaning the regal functions, was scarcely exceeded by the verbal indignities of the French revolutionists in the most calamitous days of Louis XVI. It is certain that, in the present century, few gentlemen born and bred would address the post-mistress of their village with phrases equally discourteous. Oh! how the iron must have entered into the soul of the unhappy queen-regnant of Great Britain, as she recalled the days when she permitted the lowering *aliases* of Morley and Freeman to be used in her correspondence with her climbing bedchamber woman. Those names, under which the reader has seen her carry on the darkest intrigues of her ambitious youth, were now her most venomous scourges.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.¹

(*Under the names of Morley and Freeman.*)

"Sunday morning, October 20, 1706.

"I must, in the first place, beg leave to remind *you* of the name of *Mrs. Morley*, and of your faithful Freeman, because without that help I shall not be well able to bring out what I have to say, 'tis so awkward to write anything of this kind in the style of an address, tho' none, I am sure, ever came from a purer heart,² nor can be the tenth part so serviceable to *you* if you please; because *they* [query, an address] are generally meant for compliment, which people in *Mrs. Morley's post* never want, though very often it turns to their own prejudice. What I have to say is of another nature. I will tell *you* the greatest truths in the world, which seldom succeed with anybody so well as flattery.

"Ever since I received the enclosed letter from Mr. Freeman [the duke of Marlborough], I have been in dispute with myself whether I should send it to Mrs. Morley or not, because his opinion is no news to *you*, and after the great discouragements I have met with—*only* for being faithful to *you*, I concluded it was to no manner of purpose to trouble *you* any more. But reading the letter over and over, and finding that he [the duke of Marlborough] is convinced he must quit Mrs. Morley's service, if she will not be made sensible of

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, published by Colburn; second edition, 1838, vol. i. p. 71.

² The self-praise in which the duchess of Marlborough always indulges when she is about to be more than usually insolent to her benefactress is a characteristic feature in her correspondence.

the condition she is in, I have at last resolved to send it *you* ; and *you* will see by it how full of gratitude Mr. Freeman [the duke of Marlborough] is by his expressions, which were never meant for Mrs. Morley [queen Anne] to see. He is resolved to venture his life and fortune whenever it can be of any use to *you* ; and upon recalling everything to my memory that may fill my heart with all that passion and tenderness I had *once* for Mrs. Morley, I do solemnly protest I think I can no ways return what I owe her so well as by being plain and honest. As one mark of it, I desire *you* would reflect whether *you* have never heard that the greatest misfortunes that *has* ever happened to any of *your* family has not been occasioned by having ill advice, and an obstinacy in their tempers? . . .”

And here follow three lines, which the duchess or some person, out of alarm at their contents, has expunged. It ought to be remembered that the motive of this insolent attack was neither regarding any tyranny nor rapacity intended by the queen, but only because she manifested reluctance at putting the entire power of her government in the hands of *one family*,—reluctance worthy of a constitutional queen. Thus it was pure self-interest that excited the manifestation of the “plainness and honesty” of which the duchess makes such a remarkable parade. Still taunting the queen with the misfortunes of her ancestors, this *disinterested* patriot continues :—

“Though ’tis likely nobody has ever spoken thoroughly to *you* on those *just* misfortunes, I fear there is reason to apprehend there is nothing of this in the case of Mrs. Morley, since she has never been able to answer any argument, *or to say anything that has the least color of reason in it*, and yet will not be advised by those that have given the greatest demonstrations imaginable of being in her interest. I can remember a time when *she* was willing to take advice, and loved those who spoke freely to her, and that is *not five years ago* ;¹ and is it possible that, when *you* seriously reflect, *you* can do the business upon your hands without it? Can flatteries in so short a time have such a power? Or can you think it is safer to take it [advice] from those *you* have little or no experience of, than of those who have raised your glory higher than was ever expected? And let people talk what they please of luck, I am persuaded that whoever governs with the best sense, will be the most fortunate of princes.”

This is an incontrovertible apothegm, but not *à propos* to the point the writer was wrangling to gain,—namely, the

¹ It may be observed how chronologically exact the duchess is regarding the change she had observed in the queen’s affections, the reason of which she in vain tormented herself to divine, but which certainly arose from the scene of the gloves.

appointment of her son-in-law to a place of enormous power and profit. It is no manifestation of good sense in a monarch to suffer one grasping family to monopolize every place in an administration.

"I am sure this letter will surprise Mrs. Morley, who, I believe, was in hopes she had got quite rid of me, and should never have heard from me again on any such subject; but instead of that, I have ventured to tell *you* you have a fault. There is no perfection in this world, and whoever will be honest upon that subject, does one in Mrs. Morley's circumstances more service than in venturing a hundred lives for her; and if I had as many, I am sure I could freely hazard them all, to convince her (though I am used as I don't care to repeat) that she never had a more faithful servant.

"I beg *you* will let me have this letter again, as well as Mr. Freeman's [the duke of Marlborough's letter, enclosed], because I have some reason to think Mrs. Morley will dislike this letter, as she has done many not written with quite so much freedom, and will accuse me to the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin,¹ without saying what is my fault, which has often been done; and having no copy of this letter, I would have it to show them in my own vindication."

It seems extraordinary why the duchess did not take the trouble of keeping a copy of her letter, instead of ordering her sovereign, whose domestic she then was, to return her this unique epistle after being favored with its perusal, a proceeding which certainly stands alone in the history of royal correspondence. She proceeds with a flow of her usual enthusiastic praises of her own excellences when she contemplates her conduct to the queen:—

"For nothing *sets* so heavy upon me as to be thought in the wrong by Mrs. Morley, *who I have made the best return to that any mortal ever did*. And what I have done has rarely been seen but upon a stage, everybody having some weakness or passion, which is generally watched or humored *in Mrs. Morley's place*, most people liking better to do themselves good than really to serve another; but I have more satisfaction in losing Mrs. Morley's favor upon that principle, than any mercenary courtier ever had in the greatest riches that *has* been given, and though I can't preserve your kindness, you can't hinder me from endeavoring to deserve it by all the ways that are in my power."

Endorsed by the duchess—"My letter to Mrs. Morley, which you should read before you read hers."

Would not any one, who had not traced the rise and be-

¹ The duchess uses the cant names Mr. Freeman and Mr. Montgomery, for the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin, and sometimes their own titles in the same letter, which injures its perspicuity.

ginnings of the writer of this letter, suppose that her pure and virtuous mind was "like a star, and dwelt apart," far from the "practices of mercenary courtiers?" And yet she and "her Mr. Freeman" had contrived to appropriate, by means honest and dishonest, the mighty income of upwards of 90,000*l.* of public money,—nearly a tenth of the whole revenue (contested as it was) with which Charles I. carried on the government of his kingdoms without incurring a national debt. No wonder an economical ruler was considered guilty of "just misfortunes" in the eyes of "defaulters of untold millions."

The queen's actual answer to this assertion of all the disinterested virtues, on occasion of a contest for a shameless monopoly of interest, has not been discovered. The result was, however, that her arrogant palace-despot gained her ends, and her son-in-law was, to the queen's grief, appointed secretary of state; and what gave Anne infinitely more anguish, she was coerced into appointing a bishop of Norwich (his tutor in his religious principles, such as they were) at *his* dictation.¹ The unfortunate queen suffered agonies of mind at this juncture. Her tears and agitation just preceding the crisis had actually touched the heart of one of the family junta,—her old servant, Godolphin, who pleaded the cause of their royal mistress in vain to her pitiless tyrant. Few persons could have written a letter of such uncompromising insolence to any one, after the following picture had been drawn by Godolphin:—² "You chide me for being touched with the condition in which I saw the queen; you would have been so too, if you had seen the same sight I did. But what troubles me most in

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 175. A contemporary historian, Cunningham, when unveiling the proceedings of Sunderland, the father, during his exile in Holland at the Revolution, declares "that he gave his son into the care of Trimnel, a pious clergyman in Holland, to be instructed in the laws and *religion* of the Dutch republic."—Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain, book ii. p. 97. Thus the new bishop of Norwich, the *tutor* of a professed freethinker, was a professor of instruction in the *Dutch* dissent, although forced into domination over the clergy of the church of England.

² Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 66.

all the affair is, that one can't find any way of making her sensible of her mistakes, for I am sure she thinks herself entirely in the right." The whole junta were utterly at fault to imagine in whom the queen reposed the confidence she had withdrawn from the duchess of Marlborough, who actually suspected George Churchill, the favorite of prince George of Denmark, of being the confidential adviser of the queen. Her husband, however, exonerated his brother by writing to her these remarkable words:—¹ "I cannot but think you lay a great deal more to George Churchill's charge than he deserves; for the queen has no good opinion of him, nor ever speaks to him."

The poor queen had scarcely taken breath after the letter of the duchess, wherein the anticipation of disappointed ambition and interest vented itself under the assumption of tainted patriotism, when her torments were varied by the high-minded stateswoman—the judge of erring dynasties, and hurler of judgments against her immediate benefactors—plunging, direct from her altitudes, into the midst of an insurrection of palace-chambermaids concerning—old clothes. As the particulars of this dispute are only recorded by the duchess's own pen, the facts can scarcely be considered as represented unfavorably to herself. From her narrative on this absurd subject may be gathered that the queen was deeply offended by her previous conduct, and "that she considered herself *then* as much out of favor as she ever had been since, when the rupture with the queen was public and open."

It was characteristic of the duchess of Marlborough, that after she had, by the most deliberate outrages of tongue and pen, estranged the affection of her royal mistress, she forthwith began to inquire what new favorite had prejudiced the queen against her, and to whose ill offices she could attribute her majesty's coldness. As yet, her suspicions had not glanced at her cousin, Abigail Hill; but in the course of the domestic disturbance touching the queen's cast clothes, her jealousy first received this direc-

¹ Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 60; duke of Marlborough to the duchess.

tion. It will be seen, according to her own version, that the duchess distributed old mantuas, old gowns, old petticoats, commodes, headclothes, and *mantes* with the justice of a Solon; nevertheless, the bedchamber women and dressers were perverse enough to declare that "she kept all the queen's *best* old clothes for herself."¹ Among the minor objects of the duchess of Marlborough's jealousy was Mrs. Danvers, bedchamber woman, whose name occurs frequently as if she were near the queen's person, from her youth until the last day of her life. The duchess had tried to persuade queen Anne "that Mrs. Danvers was a spy on her majesty," but on whose account her deposition sayeth not. The queen was likewise informed that Mrs. Danvers had said "false and impertinent things of the duchess, and therefore ought to be dismissed from the royal employ;"² nevertheless, the old servant was retained.

Again the queen was distracted by the quarrels of the duchess and Mrs. Danvers. In hopes of placing all parties above these most wretched wranglings, her majesty generously gave her bedchamber women 500*l.* per annum, and New-year's gifts; and thus, according to the phraseology of the duchess, "put herself on the foot of a king,"—meaning, it may be presumed, that the queen gave her women of the bedchamber the same allowance that the kings of England accorded their grooms of the chamber. If queen Anne thought she could preserve peace by her liberality, she was the more mistaken; the loud squabbles of the mighty duchess relative to her cast garments raged higher than ever. It was contended by her grace "that the queen's mistress of the robes was a particular place; and the bedchamber women had no more right to her majesty's clothes than the grooms of the bedchamber had to take them from a king's master of the robes, who never had anything but a part of his linen. However, I never failed to give the queen's women three or four mantuas³ and petticoats every year, some little thing to her semp-

¹ Coxe Papers, inedited; Brit. Mus., 9121.

² Ibid.

³ Mantuas seem to be robes worn over rich *jupes*, or kirtles; *mantes*, simple mantles, or cloaks.

stress, with a *mante* or two to the women that looked after her clothes. There would not be more than two or three *for my own* service. The dressers railed at me everywhere, and said 'I took from them all their clothes for myself,' though, in this case, everybody that had common sense must know they *all* belonged to me, and none of them to the bedchamber women after *she* came to be queen. When *she* was princess, by all the old rules of courts, they were but to have half the old clothes between them. I began this paper to show the power of 'my Abigail' in obliging Mrs. Danvers, whom she once hated, and her daughter too, who I thought did not look like a human creature, and was always the queen's aversion until the times changed."¹

The first hint which directed the angry jealousy of the duchess against her quiet kinswoman appears to have arisen from this Mrs. Danvers, who, being on bad terms with Abigail Hill, and believing herself to be dying, sent for the duchess, and implored her "to protect her daughter, and let her be in her place." The duchess told her "she could not, for she was then on bad terms with the queen;" which observation led to a long discussion by the sick woman against Abigail Hill, of her wickedness and ill principles, and secret enmity to the duchess, with a story of her behavior when the queen took her to Bath. At this time, Abigail was still Mrs. Hill (or, in modern parlance, Miss Hill), and from the narrative may be gathered that the queen and the duchess of Marlborough were at serious variance before the marriage of Abigail with Masham, which did not occur until 1707. Some kind of lame pacification took place, which tottered on until the grand and irreconcilable rupture in 1708.

One cause of complaint was that the duchess wanted to thrust into the queen's service a Mrs. Vain,² as bedchamber woman; her brother had fallen in one of the Marlborough battles, and lord Godolphin pressed the queen mightily to admit this "Mrs. Vain" in her service, who was very well bred and agreeable. The queen looked uneasy at the pro-

¹ Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum; vol. xlv., inedited.

² Ibid. So spelled; perhaps the name is *Vane*.

posal, which the duchess afterwards believed was owing to the fact that Abigail did not love "mistress Vain." All the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin could say to the queen could not prevail on her to receive "the Vain" into her service. Her majesty answered, "She did not want a bedchamber woman; and when she did, she would not have any married person for the future." The first vacancy that occurred, the queen took Miss Danvers, the "inhuman-looking" daughter of her old servant, on purpose to keep mistress "Vain" out; a circumstance that enraged the whole family junta, male and female. How sedulously the queen was watched, and how low the prime-minister and the commander-in-chief descended, to waste time in intrigues concerning the appointment of a bedchamber woman, this tirade of the duchess can prove.¹ Her jealousy had not, even then, settled with fierceness on her cousin Abigail.

¹ Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum; vol. xlv., inedited.

ANNE,

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER VII.

Queen Anne's beneficial measures—Anecdotes of her generosity and charity—She is kept in penury by the duchess of Marlborough—Queen ratifies the treaty of union with Scotland [*see vignette*—Queen present at Abigail Hill's marriage—Tumults in Scotland against the queen—Her controversy with Peter the Great—She settles the arrangement regarding ambassadors—The queen accepts a book from Edmund Calamy—Her hunting at Windsor—Receives insolent letters from the duchess of Marlborough—Interview between the queen and the duchess—Queen gives the duchess the site of Marlborough house—Queen harassed by contentions—Insulted at council—Forced to dismiss secretary Harley—Her charity to the criminal Gregg—Queen's alarm at the Scottish rebellion—Gives her brother the name of "the Pretender"—Weeps when he is proscribed—Queen respite the execution of lord Griffin—Queen harassed with political disputes—Failing health of her consort—Her conjugal tenderness—Queen retires to nurse the prince at Kensington palace—Her quiet invaded by the duchess of Marlborough—Queen's summer residence in Windsor park—Queen's letter on the victory of Oudenarde.

To her people queen Anne looked, as the only means of atonement, pardon, and peace for the wrongs she had committed in her youth. To her they replaced the children, of which inexorable justice (if her expressed conviction may be quoted) had deprived her. Few readers of history have given this queen-regnant credit for the great good she actually did when on the throne; still fewer have given her credit for the extreme difficulty she had in performing it, struggling with the inertness of cruel disease, with her own want of historical and statistical education, and, worse than all, with the rapacity of her favorites and factions, the nurturers of wars and revolutions for lucre of private gain. In truth, queen Anne is an instance of how much real good may be done by the earnest intentions of one indi-

vidual, of moderate abilities and no pretence, actually bent on actions beneficial to humanity. Those who bow the knee in idol-worship before the splendor of human talent would find it difficult to produce two measures of equal benefit to this island, performed by any queen-regnant of acknowledged power of mind and brightness of genius, with those brought to bear by queen Anne, and which were her own personal acts. The one is the 'Bounty' she bestowed on the impoverished clergy of the church of England; the other is the union of England and Scotland. It is indisputable that the most influential persons around her, the duchess of Marlborough and the lord Somers, were opposed to the latter important measure, the necessity for which was felt, not only by the queen, but by rational people of both countries. Lasting and ruinous civil wars, such as had occasionally desolated the island for some centuries, were the only prospect Great Britain could look forward to, since the Scottish parliamentary convention had refused to ratify the settlement in favor of the next Protestant heiress to the island thrones,—the princess Sophia. A considerable party among the Scottish populace had re-echoed this determination outside of the hall of convention at Holyrood in their usual style, by historical ballads, in one of which they thus expressed their distaste of the Lutheran dissent:—

“The Lutheran dame may be gone,
Our foes shall address us no more;
If the *treaty*¹ should never go on,
The old woman is turned to the door.”

Unless the Union had been completed in the lifetime of queen Anne, Scotland must have been separated from England, as the *convention*² of that realm had, since the queen's

¹ Treaty for the union of England and Scotland.

² To produce perspicuity, it is needful to explain that, by the word *convention*, as applied to the English and Scottish parliaments of this era, two different meanings are implied. The conventional English parliament that voted William and Mary sovereigns of England, and superseded the prior right of Anne to her brother-in-law, was the last parliament elected in the reign of Charles II. convened or collected for senatorial debate. The Scottish convention signifies the whole Scottish senate, nobles and knights of the

accession, passed a statute repudiating from the Scottish crown any sovereign whom the English parliament placed on their throne.¹ Such determination made the union inevitable, as the only means of altering the intractable legislature of Scotland.

The queen had found some consolation and support against the domestic tyranny established by the duchess of Marlborough in the friendship of her kinsmen, the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Marr; and to them she undoubtedly confided the injuries she suffered from her ungrateful favorite, since the pen of Lockhart of Carnwath, the member for Edinburgh, and one of the commissioners of the Union, has recorded the utter penury to which she subjected her generous mistress, refusing to supply her, without a furious contest, with the least sum from the privy-purse, of which she was the keeper, and, by all account, the appropriator. Perhaps the state of deplorable poverty to which the queen was subjected while surrounded by the mockery of dazzling splendor was not the least punishment she had to endure for having once made an idol of the evil woman who now sorely tormented her. Anne's disposition being undeniably bountiful, she felt this contradiction to her natural instincts the more severely. From the memorable hour when lady Marlborough concealed herself in the closet with lady Fitzharding, and listened to James II.'s remonstrance when he freed his daughter a third time from her overwhelming debts, Anne was, for some unknown reason, forced to submit to every imposition, and to suffer her imperious servant's will to be a law to her in all the actions of her life. In the course of Anne's career as princess, few charities or generous actions appear. It may be reasonably considered that she was deprived of all means of performing them, since, even in her regnal life, at the period when she had commenced some struggles to free

shire, and burghers, who sat together *convened* in one hall, as at Holyrood or Stirling.

¹ Memoirs of Lockhart of Carnwath. In the year 1703 the question of the Hanoverian succession, submitted to the senate of Scotland, was negatived by fifty-seven votes.

herself from the domination that oppressed her, the duchess of Marlborough would neither permit her to be generous nor charitable.

Lockhart of Carnwath, the intimate friend of the duke of Hamilton, the only real confidant of queen Anne, has left the following anecdotes of the state of her majesty's privy-purse about the year 1706:—"When the queen happened to have occasion to call for a small sum of money, the duchess of Marlborough, who kept her privy-purse, would tell her, 'It was not fit to squander away money whilst so heavy a war lasted;' ¹ though, at the same time, a vast sum of the public money was annually bestowed in building the duke of Marlborough's magnificent house at Woodstock. I remember that, just then, one Mrs. Dalrymple brought up from Scotland a very fine japanned cabinet, which, being her own work, she presented to the queen; but it was more than six months before her majesty could be mistress of fifty guineas, which she designed to give as a return for the compliment,—that sum, indeed, being scarcely the value of it." ²

To return to matters of more importance in the character and conduct of queen Anne. Whilst the greedy favorite strove to prevent her royal mistress from giving the reward she thought fit for the ingenuity and taste of one of her female subjects, this very favorite was revelling in unbounded wealth, the fruits of the very war she urged as a reason for penuriousness. As for charity, it may be supposed that the queen dared not make the demand of the dragon who guarded her gold, for she borrowed the sums she needed, and paid them as she could obtain the funds by some personal deprivation. A case of touching distress became known to her of the sad fate of sir Andrew Foster, a gentleman who had spent his life as her father's faithful servant; he had likewise been ruined in fortune by his

¹ It has been proved that the Marlboroughs drew from the public purse at that very moment the enormous revenue of 64,000*l.* per annum; before the death of the duke, their income amounted to 94,000*l.* Yet, in the first year of queen Anne's reign, they were so much limited in their means as to have no conveyance of their own.

² Lockhart of Carnwath's Papers, vol. i. pp. 267-269.

adherence to him. The queen had known him when she was a child; and when she was informed that he had expired of famine in some wretched abode in London,—his destitution being so complete that he left not wherewithal for the purposes of interment,—shocked at the fate of the unfortunate Jacobite, she was desirous that he might be decently buried.¹ Yet her majesty, in all points, excepting food, lodging, and clothing, was as poor as the unconscious object of her remorseful charity; nevertheless, she had some credit, and obtained a loan of twenty guineas of lady Fretcheville, one of her ladies, whose name often occurs as her personal attendant. Her majesty employed the gold thus borrowed for the purpose of giving decent interment to the hapless servant of her father.²

The opposition of the duke of Hamilton to the Union was constant and effectual, until, on a sudden, it ceased. His conduct was considered, by all statesmen in and near those times, as most mysterious; but it was generally supposed that he was gained by the personal influence of queen Anne, with whom he maintained an intimate friendship. The secret has been divulged by Charles Hamilton (the duke's son by the unfortunate lady Barbara Fitzroy), who has given a quotation from a despatch of lord Middleton, prime-minister to the titular king at St. Germain. James Stuart saw the progress of the Union with satisfaction, for the woful experience of a century of regal calamity in his family had convinced him that the island-empire would always be rent into miserable weakness until that long-needed measure should take place. He entreated the duke of Hamilton to forbear from further opposition to the Union, as he had it extremely at heart to give his sister (queen Anne) this proof of his ready compliance with her wishes, not doubting but he should have one day the power of making amends to his ancient kingdom.³

As the queen completed the Union while the duchess of Marlborough ostensibly governed her, it has been attributed

¹ Lockhart of Carnwath's Papers, vol. i. pp. 267–269.

² *Ibid.*, p. 316.

³ Hamilton's Transactions, pp. 41–44, quoted in Continuation of History of England; sir J. Mackintosh, vol. ix. p. 199.

to the influence of that person and her party. Such assertion is completely erroneous. Witness the words of Maynwaring, the confidant of the duchess, and himself one of the under-ministers of state :—"As for your Scots," says he, writing to her,¹ "it is impossible for you to think worse of them than I do, or to apprehend more mischief from them ; and I think *your being against the Union should always be remembered to your everlasting honor*, for without that, it had been impossible for these people to have supported themselves for a month." Thus it may be gathered that the queen derived some little freedom from her communication with her northern magnates when the Union was ratified, since "these people" signify Harley and his coadjutors, from among whom her tory ministry was afterwards formed.

The duchess of Marlborough was not the only person in violent opposition to the Union. Lord-chancellor Somers, soon after president of the council, did all he could to prevent the repeal of the cruel torture-laws pertaining to the Scottish national constitution, which, together with many savage customs in executions, were among the worst abuses which this salutary union swept away. Lord Somers had the baseness to oppose the abolition of torture, appointed at the will and pleasure of the Scottish council of state, "until after the death of the pretended prince of Wales."² The tragedy of Nevill Payne, the Jacobite, being tortured to death under the regency of Mary II., at a time when this Somers was in the English ministry, cannot be forgotten ; his argument would betray the use his colleagues in Scotland had made of it since the Revolution. Torture was likewise used as a power of eliciting evidence in criminal causes, as the London Gazette, published in the reign of William and Mary, fully proves.³

¹ Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum ; likewise Private Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 396.

² Continuation of Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ix. p. 228.

³ The London Gazette, of April, 1689, more than once mentions, with the coolness of customary occurrence, that the murderer of sir George Lockhart had been repeatedly tortured by order of the Scottish council, to force him to disclose his accomplices, without effect. Brit. Museum.

Notwithstanding all opposition, the measure was passed early in the year 1707, both in Scotland and England. Queen Anne signed the Union, and ratified it, with great state, in presence of the Scottish commissioners, her own ministers, and the members of both houses of parliament. In the act of signing the ratification,¹ the queen is said to have made use of words worthy of a more enlightened statist than herself. "The union with Scotland," she said, "is the happiness of my reign."² On the same day, April 24, 1707, her majesty dissolved the last English house of commons, and finally summoned the first united parliament of Great Britain, to meet on the ensuing October 23d. The queen celebrated the Union by a national festival. A few days afterwards she went in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral, on May-day, 1707, when she returned hearty thanksgivings for the successful completion of an act of legislature, which she rightly foretold would prove the true happiness of her reign. The magnificent routine of ceremonial which attended her majesty's May-day festival was an easy and pleasant part of the affair; but, owing to the corrupt mode in which her ministry brought the Union into practical effect, Scotland, in the course of a few ensuing weeks, was almost in a state of open rebellion.

The queen's attention was, about the same period, diverted from these affairs of vital moment concerning her realms, to a fresh explosion of palace-dissension, arising from a cause which, for three succeeding years, left her little peace in the hours of domestic retirement. The strife originated in the furious jealousy now manifested in the behavior of the duchess of Marlborough against her kinswoman, Abigail Hill. There is reason to suppose, from the extraordinary part taken by the queen in the secret marriage of this attendant with her page, Samuel Masham, that the suspicions of the duchess of Marlborough against her kinswoman had burst into open fury before that wedlock, which did not occur until the summer of 1707. The

¹ See vignette.

² *Vie de la reine Anne Stuart*, printed at Amsterdam, 1715; and Edmund Calamy's *Diary*, vol. ii.

poor queen certainly played a strange part in the transaction, forgetting her sovereign dignity so far as to go into a corner of the palace to become witness of a stolen marriage between two persons of full age, who had the leave of no person to ask concerning their union, excepting perhaps her own out of deference. And the queen condescended to such arrangement in order that all parties might keep their ears safe from a furious explosion of wrath from the imperious duchess; the whole forms a palace-incident too ridiculous for belief, were it not verified on all sides. How long the knot, tied in the presence of majesty, between Abigail and Samuel would have remained concealed in romantic mystery there is no knowing, if poor queen Anne, whose hand, like that of her unfortunate ancestors, was ever open to give, had not thought proper to dower the bride very handsomely from the privy-purse,—a fund which the Marlborough duchess guarded with angry watchfulness.

“The conduct,” says the duchess, “both of the queen and Abigail convinced me there was some mystery; thereupon I set myself to inquire as particularly as I could into it, and in less than a week’s time I discovered that my cousin was become an absolute favorite; that the queen herself was present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot’s lodgings, at which time her majesty had called for a round sum from the privy-purse.”¹ To add to these enormities, the inquiring duchess ascertained “that Mrs. Masham came often to the queen when the prince was asleep [he was then a declining invalid, and took naps in the middle of the day], and she was generally two hours every day in private with her. And I likewise then discovered, beyond all dispute, Mr. Harley’s correspondence and interest at court by the means of this woman.” She adds, “I was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude, and should not have believed it, if there had been any room for doubting.” The duchess wrote a most exaggerated statement of these trivial circumstances to her husband, who replied to her inflated complaints with the same calmness and good

¹ Conduct, p. 184.

sense which had aided him in attaining the top of the ladder of ambition. "The wisest thing," he wrote, "is to have to do with as few people as possible. If you are sure Mrs. Masham speaks of business to the queen, I should think you might, with some caution, tell her of it, which would do good; for she certainly must be grateful, and will mind what you say."¹ The duchess did not heed the temperate advice of her husband, but inflamed her mind with cogitations on the barbarity, ingratitude, and wickedness of the "queen's intrigues" with her cousin,—a homely dresser or chamber-woman. It is difficult to imagine how the word "intrigues" could apply to her majesty's conversations with her authorized servant during the day-slumbers of her invalid and declining husband, since it was on Abigail Masham all personal assistance that the queen required in attending on him devolved; and at night she slept on a pallet, in the antechamber to her majesty's bedroom, within call.² The queen often supported prince George when he was laboring under his dreadful attacks of asthma,³ and she required some help beyond what her own strength could afford.

The time has been noted when the queen's government made use of the Protestants of the Cevennes in France as a means of annoying Louis XIV.; of course their leader, Cavallier, with his comrades (being guerillas, called *camisards*), received a warm welcome in London, when they took shelter under queen Anne's protection from the wrath of their king. Scarcely were they settled as refugees, when the lively spirits of the natives of the South began to effervesce in a style extraordinary even among the numerous sectarians of Great Britain. Their ministers, after remaining in trances or slumbers, such as would in these days have been called mesmeric, gave vent to such wild prophecies that the government thought fit to interfere. John Aude and Nicholas Facio, for printing and publishing the writings of Elias Marion, were sentenced to be perched on a scaffold at Charing cross and the Royal Exchange,

¹ Dated Meldest, Germany, June 3, 1707; Conduct, p. 185.

² Lord Dartmouth's Notes.

³ Ibid.

with papers in their hats signifying their crime; "and," adds Calamy, "they actually suffered accordingly." Such a proceeding was not a very hospitable transaction. It seems that the dissenters of England were exceedingly angry with their flighty allies, considering, justly, that they brought scandal on them by breaking up the bonds of moral law. A convert of good family, named Lacy, fancied that he imitated the Jewish patriarchs by leaving his wedded wife and taking a second spouse, who was but a candle-snuffer at one of the theatres, and was considered by the Cevennois as "an enlightened person." Edmund Calamy, the learned dissenting minister, preached vigorously at Salter's hall against these fanatics, and published his sermons under the collective title of a "Caveat against the New Prophets." Sir Richard Bulkeley, a small and crooked gentleman, who had been promised by the French prophets to be made "tall and straight as a poplar-tree," put forth an answer in favor of the prophets, and a paper-war ensued.

Whilst the consort of the queen lived, the dissenters always had a friend at court, who made common cause with them. Calamy sent a presentation-copy of his "Caveats" to his royal highness prince George, "who," to use his words, "received it very graciously, and put it in the window-seat of his bedchamber, as if it were among the books under course of perusal. Her sacred majesty queen Anne, one day paying a domiciliary visit in the apartment of her spouse, espied this new book, and asked him 'how he came by it?'—'It was given me by the author,' replied the prince. Upon which the queen observed, 'that she thought she might have expected such a present.'" Perhaps here was some passing shade of jealousy of her royal authority, but her words fell not unheeded. Mr. Justice Chamberlain, gentleman of the bedchamber to the prince, hurried to the author, and reported the words of her majesty. Calamy says, "that he had his book handsomely bound, and offered it to queen Anne by the hands of her rising favorite, Abigail Hill (who was then privately married to Mr. Masham)." This measure drew down on the unfortunate dissenter's

head a raging storm from her imperious grace of Marlborough. The poor man finished his little episode of royalty with mysterious lamentations on the impossibility of knowing how to proceed in "court-matters," and with reproaches to his friend of the prince's bedchamber for having drawn him into "a scrape." This was the wrath of the duchess of Marlborough, not of his sovereign; for her majesty sent Mr. Forster, page of her back-stairs, to thank the gentle dissenter "for his present to her, and the service he had done the public by appearing against the new prophets." The terror that the queen's tyrant inspired may be ascertained by this little anecdote, and still more, that Abigail Hill, of full age, and apparent liberty to please herself (indeed she must have been what is usually called an old maid), could not marry a fellow-servant without keeping so unromantic a wedlock profoundly secret to the world in general. The poor woman, although supported by her royal mistress, actually retained her own name for more than a year, for fear of the tigerish rage into which both she and queen Anne well knew the Marlborough duchess would be pleased to transport herself.

Very much perplexed seems the duchess of Marlborough to have been in her endeavor to make out a case of injury to herself, or to any one else, from the queen's intimacy with Abigail Masham. In the course of her investigation, she says, "My reflection quickly brought to my mind many passages which had seemed odd, but had left no impressions of jealousy. Particularly I remembered that, a long while before this occurred, being with the queen,—to whom I had gone very privately, by a secret passage from my lodging to the royal bedchamber,—on a sudden this woman, Abigail, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible; but upon the sight of me, stopped, and immediately asked, making a most solemn courtesy, 'Did your majesty ring?' and then went out again. This singular behavior needed no interpreter now to make it understood."¹ All these important reminiscences and investigations were part and parcel of the delights of the

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

summer seclusion at stately Windsor. The queen and her attendant had already been taken to task and duly lectured for the stolen marriage, her majesty's portion of the objurgation being administered in the following manner:—"The next opportunity I had of being alone with the queen, I could not forbear putting her in mind 'that she used to say, *when she was desired to keep anything a secret*, she would tell it however to me, because, according to Montaigne's observation, telling a thing to a friend is only telling it to one's self;' but yet she had kept the secret of my cousin Hill marrying Mr. Masham a long time from me. But the only thing I was concerned at, that it plainly showed a change in her majesty towards me, as I had once before observed to her, when the queen was pleased to say, 'that it was not *she* that was changed, but me; and that if I was the same to her, she was sure she was to me.' The queen added, with a good deal of earnestness, 'I believe I have spoken to Masham a hundred times to tell you of her marriage, but she would not.' This startled me, and blind as I had been before, I began to open my eyes when I came to reflect upon these words, which plainly implied that Mrs. Masham had often had consultations with the queen, though she would not have been thought to presume to speak to her majesty about this, or anything else. When I asked her about her secret marriage, she [Mrs. Masham] told me, 'She believed the bedchamber woman had told the queen of it,'"¹ so far was she from owning to her inquisitor that the queen had acted as witness of the same.

It is indeed remarkable, in the course of the fierce scrutiny henceforth instituted by the imperious duchess on the condoling gossiping between the queen and Mrs. Masham in the sick-room of the declining prince, how she betrays the system of espionage kept up by her on these important palace secrets. "When the queen went privately to Abigail's wedding in the Scotch doctor's chamber," says the duchess, "the fact was discovered by a boy belonging to

¹ Coxe Papers; letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson: Brit. Museum, inedited. The same scene is printed in the *Conduct*, but the MS. has far more matter and circumstance.

one of the under-servants, who saw her [the queen] going alone. After this," continues the duchess, "I went three or four nights together to the queen, hoping to do some good with her; but I generally found Mrs. Masham in the waiting-room, ready to go in as I came out. One of these times, as I passed by her, I told her that I had a desire to have some talk with her; and she answered me with a low courtesy and a great deal of humility, 'that she would wait upon me.'"¹

The duchess changed her mind in regard to her first intention, of giving "the party suspected" of ill offices with the queen a sound personal rating; instead of which, she wrote to her an angry letter from Woodstock palace. The superior style of the answer astonished her, and she became convinced that the serving-maid kinswoman had been prompted by her other cousin, the statesman Harley. Here the far-seeing duchess was mistaken, for Mrs. Masham wrote in a better style than secretary Harley, or the duchess, or any of the courtiers of the era, as any one may ascertain who compares their respective compositions. It is likewise undeniable that her letters surpass those of the authors and poets among whose correspondence they are found.² Mrs. Masham had a large red nose, was very plain, and had miserable health; but she was a person of talent, and must have educated herself amidst the privations and miseries of her early life. It does not appear that she was guilty of any of the circumventing ingratitude regarding her royal mistress on which the duchess rails in theatrical rant, using the words "barbarous," "horrid," and even "ghastly."³ Much trouble would have been saved to the queen if she had authorized Mrs. Masham to say to her cousin, "The confidential intimacy between the queen and me originated with *yourself*; for the queen, by accident, overheard you railing on her to me, and expressing loathing and hatred to her person without provocation, about a mere trifle. Hence the change in her heart and affections

¹ Coxe Papers; MS. letter before cited, hitherto inedited.

² See the Swift Correspondence. Swift himself speaks very highly of her abilities.

³ Ibid.

towards you." But this was never done, and the duchess continued to search and strike in the dark, like a blind person enraged. Perhaps, if she had known or even believed the cause, her self-sophistry would have explained it away; as, for instance, she knew the abusive and taunting letter she had written to the queen, in her rage at finding her majesty unwilling to appoint her son-in-law, lord Sunderland, secretary of state, and yet she could wonder that the queen loved her no longer. She laid the fault of the change on her cousin, who certainly had no concern with that epistle.

The queen's attention was at last aroused from these grovelling wranglings by the alarming state into which her favorite measure of the Union had plunged Scotland. Yet, in all justice, it ought to be added that the discontents arose from the flagrant perversion of a large sum the English parliament had voted, as "equivalent" to Scotland, to the purposes of private interest and speculation, for no tittle of which was the sovereign accountable. The "equivalent money," which was to smooth all impediments to the practical working of the union of Scotland with England, consisted of 398,085*l.* 10*s.* paid to Scotland as indemnity for a certain portion of the national debt, then first saddled on Scotland, which henceforth bore an equality of taxation with England for the purposes of paying the interest. Unfortunately, none of the "equivalent" found its way into the possession of the great body of the people, or even of the middle-class tax-payers, who forthwith had to pay imposts on malt, salt, and all the endless inflictions of the excise. The poor commonalty showed their indignation by pelting the twelve wagons, that carried the "equivalent money" graciously sent by the queen's ministry, through Edinburgh to the gates of the castle. Although a party of Scotch dragoons¹ was the escort, this pitiless pelting could not be averted; indeed the guard, as well as the money-carts, took refuge in the sheltering walls of the fortress, thoroughly encased and incrustated with mud. No sooner was the treasure safely lodged in the castle, than a

¹ Life of Edmund Calamy, vol. ii. p. 64.

plot was forthwith hatched to seize it, by force or fraud, and effect a division somewhat different from that intended by the queen's ministry. John Kerr of Kersland, Esq., the leader of the Cameronians, was one of those persons who, like Marlborough, Godolphin, and the rest of the aristocracy, intrigued on both sides, and made ready to swim, either as Jacobite or revolutionist, as the tide set the strongest; he obtained information of this scheme, or rather, it is supposed, contrived it himself, and forthwith denounced it to the duke of Queensberry, who was to receive the largest slice of the equivalent. The duke seemed surprised, but requested the informer "to go into the measures of the conspirators;" and that he might do so with security, the duke obtained for him a document, called "a privy seal," from the queen,¹ to this effect:—

ANNE, R. Whereas we are fully sensible of the fidelity and loyalty of John Kerr of Kersland, Esq., and of the services he performed to us and to our government, we therefore grant him this our royal leave and license to *keep company and associate himself with such as are disaffected to us and to our government*, in such way and manner as he shall judge most for our service.

"Given under our royal hand, at our castle of Windsor, the 7th of July, 1707, of our reign the sixth year.

"ANNE, R."

Queen Anne's hand is not expected to be found among dark and treacherous schemes which recall to memory the turbulent undercurrents of plots that agitated not only public, but domestic life in the two preceding centuries. There is little doubt that this spy would have tempted many of his countrymen to their ruin, only he was seen coming out of Godolphin's house in St. James's square by a Scotch Jacobite, who wrote the news to the circle of the duchess of Gordon.² Kerr's treachery was then suspected.

In order to regain the confidence of the Jacobite party, Kerr of Kersland contrived to draw the Cameronians into a protestation against queen Anne. He therefore convened

¹ Life of Edmund Calamy, vol. ii. p. 65.

² Ibid., pp. 65-67.

a formidable muster of those fierce sectarians, the followers of "preacher Macmillan," who, at the Mercat cross of Edinburgh, made a public declaration against Anne queen of Scotland, saying, "she had forfeited the crown of Scotland by imposing the Union;" affirming, in conclusion, "that it was unlawful to pay her taxes, or render her obedience."¹ Such was the use that Kerr made of the above-quoted document under queen Anne's hand and privy-seal. He finished by accusing Godolphin and his associates of being Jacobites, because he could not prevail on them to supply Edinburgh castle with ammunition and stores. They, it appears, scarcely knew what the attachments of John Kerr of Kersland actually were; in reality, they had much the same tendency with their own devoted affections to self-interest, as soon as the most sure method of securing it was ascertained. The last organized struggle against the union of England and Scotland was dissolved by this intrigue. The celebrated "equivalent" rested safely in the fortress of the good city until it was divided among those who had earned it,² and the whole island, content or malcontent, obeyed ostensibly the sceptre of queen Anne as queen of Great Britain, instead of the sovereign of the separate kingdoms of England and Scotland.

While the Cameronians manifested their discontent at the proceedings of Anne the First, queen of Scotland, by formally deposing her at the Mercat cross, the poets of the north exhaled their indignation in a different mode; and many quaint and comical ballads still remain in oral memory, which, as illustrative of the Union, must, by the way, be pretty considerable enigmas to "the spinners and knitters in the sun," if they are chanted by them at the present day. The most spirited of these lays invoked the name of queen Anne, in a strain of anything but benediction, to the lively air called by the French "*Je suis un petit tambour*," which, if every nation had its right, is, after all, an old Scotch melody:—

¹ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 67.

² Lockhart of Carnwath gives the items of its distribution from a document which no one has gainsaid.

"You're right, queen Anne, queen Anne,
 You're right, queen Anne, queen Anne;
 You've towed us in your hand,
 Let them tow us out wha can !

"You're right, queen Anne, queen Anne,
 You're right, queen Anne, my *dow* ;¹
 You've curried the old mare's hide,
 She'll fling nae mair at you.

"I'll tell you a tale, queen Anne,
 A tale of truth ye'll hear,
 It's of an auld guid man,
 That had a good gray mare.

"He'd that mare on the hills,
 And twa mair in the sta' ;²
 But that untoward jade,
 She'd do no good at a'.

"For when he grathed³ that mare,
 Or curried her hide fu' clean,
 Then she would stamp and wince,
 And show twa glancing een.

* * * * *

"The mare she scaped away,
 Frae amang the deadly stour,
 And scampered haim to him⁴
 Wha ought⁵ her *ance* before.

"Take heed, queen Anne, queen Anne,
 Take heed, queen Anne, my *dow* ;
 The auld gray mare's oursel,
 The wise auld man is you."

The pride of the Scots was deeply hurt at the extinction of their parliament and the monarchical dignity of their separate realm, as they told to the world in the following historical song:—

¹ Dove.

² The gray mare on the hills, is Scotland; the "twa others in the stall," are England and Ireland.

³ Girthed.

⁴ The heirs of James II.

⁵ Owned. *Ought*, as the past of the verb *own*, is still vernacular among the East Anglians; *he ought her*, is, in the same sense as in the above ballad, "he owned her."

“Fareweel to a’ our Scottish fame,
 Fareweel our ancient glory;
 Fareweel e’en to our Scottish name,
 Sae famed in martial story.

“Now Sark rins o’er the Solway sands,
 And Tweed rins to the ocean,
 To mark where England’s province stands—
Sic a parcel of rogues in a nation !”

The extreme mildness and mercy of queen Anne’s conduct in return for many provocations (incited by such lays as these), was, after all, the best policy, even had she studied its mere statistical effect instead of positively refusing, as she did, to shed blood on the scaffold for insurgency.

Anne’s great seal was cancelled on occasion of the Union, and a new one designed: instead of her figure being delineated, as formerly, in equestrian progression, with greyhounds coursing by the side of her steed, her majesty was represented seated on a rock as Britannia, with the Union flag flying near her, and the intersected cross of St. Andrew and St. George on her shield.¹

The presence of the most influential among the Scottish nobility, when attending parliament in London, afforded some protection to the queen, and aided her in balancing the power of the faction that oppressed her. National jealousy, and party jealousy, forthwith took the alarm, and spoke, in their accustomed organs of lampoons and squibs, against the northern inbreak. The well-known asseveration of the queen, in her first speech after her accession, that “her heart was entirely English,” had passed into a sort of motto-proverb, and was inscribed on various of her medals. These words were retorted by English satire, as a taunt on her supposed partiality to the Scotch after the Union:—

“The queen has lately lost a part
 Of her ‘entirely English heart;’
 For want of which, by way of botch,
 She pieced it up again with Scotch.”

¹ Engravings of Medals and Seals; Brit. Museum.

The very small number of sixteen, elected as their representatives by the Scottish nobles, had been fixed with reference to the number who sat in the house of lords as English peers; queen Anne's parliament, however, denied such noblemen the privileges of their English peerages,—a wrong which has been rectified at a later period. As a consolatory mark of favor for the injury of depriving the duke of Hamilton of his seat in the house of lords as duke of Brandon, the queen stood godmother in person for his third son; and following the example of the celebrated queen of Louis XII., Anne of Bretagne, her majesty gave the boy her own name of Anne, unsheltered by the addition of any masculine baptismal name. The noble young Hamilton was, perforce, called "lord Anne," from his infancy to his arrival at guardsman's estate; for lord Anne Hamilton, although not quite so much celebrated, was, like his partner in nominal affliction, the great Anne duke de Montmorency, a valiant soldier.

Among the current events of the sixth year of queen Anne, an odd circumstance occurred in regard to the ambassador of Peter the Great, which occasioned important alterations in the laws of this country concerning foreign ministers. Prince Matveof, after attending the queen's levee, and taking formal leave of her when recalled to Russia, was arrested in St. James's street, on the writ of Mr. Morton, laceman of Covent garden, July 27, 1707, and hurried, with much indignity, to a sponging-house.¹ The noble Russian, who did not seem to comprehend the cause of the attack, resisted his capture manfully, laid several of the bailiff's posse low in the kennel, and wounded grievously more than one of them. There does not appear to have been the slightest intention to wrong the tradesman, the amount of that and other debts being only 50*l.*, for which satisfaction was instantly given. Of course the Russian ambassador left England in great disgust, and made a very serious complaint to the czar of the insult. All beneficial intercourse of trade was immediately stopped by the czar, who likewise threatened a declaration of war; on which

¹ Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet. Toone's Chronology.

queen Anne entered into an elaborate explanation that the insult did not originate from any wrong intended by her or by her ministers, but arose from the rudeness of a tradesman that prince Matveof had incautiously employed. Such explanation, however reasonable it might seem in the eyes of an English queen and her ministry, was by no means satisfactory to czar Peter. It caused him, however, to write a very *naïve* and original epistle, requesting "the high and mighty princess Anne, queen of Great Britain and Ireland, to return him by bearer the head of Morton, the laceman of Covent garden, together with the heads and hands of any of his aiders and abettors in the assault on prince Matveof that her majesty might have incarcerated in her dungeons and prisons." The queen, who had very little knowledge regarding the varied customs and manners of the kingdoms of the earth, was at once amazed and vexed at this oriental demand of the heads and hands of Mr. Morton and the bailiff's followers concerned in executing the writ. She desired her secretary "to assure the czar that she had not the disposal of any heads in her kingdom but those forfeited by the infraction of certain laws, which Mr. Morton and his posse had not infringed." Czar Peter either could not or would not believe such was the case, and yet he had himself been long enough in England, in the preceding reign, studying ship-carpentry at Sayes court, Deptford, to know that Englishmen did not have their heads and hands chopped off at the caprice of the crown. However, if he knew better, his boyars did not, and the angry correspondence between him and queen Anne or her ministers continued for two years.¹ Luckily the queen or her council thought of sending one of her officials, Mr. Whitworth, who understood Muscovite usages, to explain, that "although nothing had been acted against prince Matveof but what the English laws allowed, yet those laws were very bad and inhospitable ones, and that her majesty had had them repealed; so that his imperial majesty's ambassadors could never be subjected to such an

¹ The State-Paper office contains a voluminous correspondence on this incident.

insult and injury again." Such concession was no compliment, but mere matter of fact, which the queen, for the sake of the peace of her capital, was glad to extend to all the ambassadors and resident-ministers who came to England. From the reign of Anne, the persons of ambassadors and individuals of their suites have enjoyed the privilege of freedom from arrest.¹

According to court regulations, the persons of ambassadors had previously been sacred in England, but not, it seems, beyond the precincts of the royal residences. The regulations of queen Anne² prevented the recurrence not only of discontent, but of more violent or savage scenes. Perhaps the czar was the more exacting, regarding the indignity offered to his envoy, because the duke of Marlborough, that summer, was paying great diplomatic homage to his rival, Charles XII., and treating him as the umpire of the war in Germany. The deference paid to the young warlike Swede lasted not long; the duke of Marlborough bestowed on him no further attention when he had bowed and complimented him out of his way. It is said that Charles XII. was indignant at the finery of Marlborough's dress; yet even his rugged temper felt the insinuating power of the thorough-paced diplomatist. Marlborough was shocked at the want of French, and bad writing, of the Swedish hero. The following message was sent to queen Anne, written by Marlborough to Godolphin, in the summer of 1707:—"I am to make the king of Sweden's (Charles XII.) excuse, that his letter to her majesty queen Anne is not in his own hand. The reason given me was, that the king could not write French; but the truth

¹ A wise and just law, since no tradesman is compelled to give them credit, or to deal otherwise than for ready money; while, previously, the most infamous impositions were known to have taken place on the inexperience of foreigners.

² Instead of giving ambassadors precedence, as at present, according to the date of their several arrivals, they contended for it according to the supposed rank of the sovereigns they represented; and such being a point of fierce contest always at issue between France and Spain on the martial and political arena of Europe, their ambassadors in England debated it at swords' points, fighting, aided by their retinues, at all public processions, and cutting the traces of each other's coaches, lest the line should be broken, and one dash in

is, the handwriting of Charles XII. is so bad that her majesty could not have read it." ¹

The queen's unwise condescension in making herself a party at the secret marriage of Abigail Hill and Samuel Masham had now given to the duchess of Marlborough a tangible object of rivalry in royal favor, which had long caused her the most restless researches. From that moment, every instance of the queen's avoidance of her violence, or manifestation of resentment for her unbearable insolence, was construed into the effects of the artful misrepresentations of a supplanter. Henceforth she loudly rang all possible changes on the words "gratitude" and "ingratitude," as if she herself, and connections, had not owed their all to the queen she was abusing. An historian, taking notice of her vehement complaints of Mrs. Masham's thanklessness, observes:—"It is true she was her near relative, and the defect of base ingratitude seems to run in her family." He declares, withal, "that she should have chosen her watch-dog on the queen, when she became too grand or too indolent to perform the needful office of keeping guard on her from a better breed." ²

Whilst the duchess was in the mood for reviling, she penned the queen the following choice epistle. In the course of the letter she alludes to the princess Sophia, whose visit to England was so much dreaded by the queen as to occasion it to be a threat alternately held over her by two, at least, of the contending parties into which her subjects were divided:—

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.³

(Under the usual names of *Morley* and *Freeman*.)

"August 6, 1707.

"Lord Marlborough has written to me to put your majesty in mind of count Wratislaw's picture, and in the same letter desires me to ask for one that he sent lord treasurer [lord Godolphin], which came from Hanover, which I have

before the other. The London populace infinitely enjoyed these frays, and even preferred seeing the "mounseers" fight, to witnessing their own pugilistic encounters.

¹ Coxe MS.; Brit. Museum.

² Ralph's Answer to the Conduct.

³ Coxe MS.; Brit. Museum.

seen, and which I know you would not have me trouble you with; and I have been so often discouraged in things of this nature that I believe nobody in the world but myself would attempt it. But I know Mrs. Morley's intentions are good, and to let her run on in so many mistakes, that must of necessity draw her into great misfortunes at last, is just as if one should see a friend's house on fire and let them be burnt in their beds without endeavoring to wake them, only because they had taken laudanum, and did not desire to be disturbed.

"This is the very case of poor dear Mrs. Morley; nothing seems agreeable to her but what comes from the artifices of one that has always been reported to have a great talent that way."

This clause seems to point at Mrs. Masham, against whom the duchess had now declared open war.

"I heartily wish she [the queen] may discover her true friends before she suffers for the want of that knowledge; but as for the business of calling for the princess Sophia over, I don't think that will be so easily prevented as, perhaps, she [the queen, to whom the letter is written] may flatter herself it will, though I can't think there can be many, at least that *know how ridiculous a creature* she [the princess Sophia] is, that can be in their hearts for her.

"But we are a divided nation," resumes the self-sufficient censurer of all sorts and conditions of her contemporaries. "Some are Jacobites, that cover themselves with the name of *tory*, and yet are against the crown; others are so ignorant that they really believe the calling over any of the house of Hanover will secure the succession and the Protestant religion. And some of those gentlemen that *do* know better, and that have for so many years supported the true interest against the malice of all the inventions of the enemies of this government, I suppose will grow easy, and will grow pretty indifferent,—at least in what they may be of no ill consequence, further than in displeasing the court, not only in this of the princess Sophia, but in anything else that may happen. As Mrs. Morley orders her affairs, she can't expect much strength to oppose anything where she is most concerned.

"Finding Mrs. Morley has so little time to spare, unless it be to speak to those who are more agreeable, or that say what she likes on these subjects, I have taken *the liberty to write* an answer to this,—which you will say is sincere, and can be no great trouble only to sign it with Morley."

It is an enigma to know what the duchess of Marlborough meant by the last paragraph of this epistle, unless she had finished up the insult by enclosing an answer to her own audacious attack, mimicking the manner of the queen's probable reply. She could not mean an answer to the small matter of business relative to the queen's pictures, which she makes the excuse of venting her evil feelings in this unique performance, because she only asks for the unofficial signature of "Morley." The folly of reviling

the princess Sophia, in her low-caste term of "creature," could only have been perpetrated by one who cared for no consequences but the free ebullition of her own spite and spleen. The browbeating style of the epistle proves the terms on which she lived with the queen in the summer of 1707.

But the duchess of Marlborough was not the only one of queen Anne's subjects that held vexatious controversies with her majesty at the same period. The diary left by the venerable herald-king, sir Peter le Neve, Norroy, contains most amusing minutes of the disputes he had with his liege lady, on account of her persistence in bestowing knighthood on one William Read of Durham yard, whom she called her oculist. Sir Peter formally placed before her majesty the following cogent list of professional objections to the said knighthood.¹ First, because the man the queen delighted to honor was a cobbler's son in a certain town called Halesworth, county Suffolk. Secondly, because he had passed his youth travelling in the said pleasant county in the service of a mountebank, officiating as his "Mr. Merriman." Thirdly, notwithstanding his name of Read, the queen's knight and oculist could neither read nor write. And worse than all, he had fraudulently appropriated a certain blue griffin *segriant*, pertaining to a worshipful family of the Reads in county Suffolk, to which animal he had no hereditary right. Sir Peter meant to proceed against good queen Anne's medical merry-andrew, and bring him under all the pains and penalties the court of arms could inflict touching the said wrongful blue griffin. The queen replied, "that she knighted Read because he had saved the eyesight of many thousands of her soldiers and sailors, curing them of blindness." The same year her majesty likewise knighted her physician, Edward Haines, whose parents, sir Peter informed her, "sold herbs in Bloomsbury market," wheresoever that might be. There is little doubt but that sir William Read had availed himself of some valuable specific sold by his former master, the mountebank, and that the queen herself had felt per-

¹ MS. diary of sir Peter le Neve, Norroy king-at-arms.

manent benefit from it. The wrath of the Norroy herald was ineffectual, the queen's knights remained sir William and sir Edward, despite of the flaws found in their pedigrees. The dispute was but a droll interlude among the stormy scenes which occurred at cabinet councils, where the queen was often agitated by the attacks of the family junta who now entirely composed it. On one of these occasions her majesty rose up in a flutter, and overthrew the chair on which she had been seated. From this movement an augury, in jest, was drawn by the triumphant family-faction, that the queen meant it as a type or emblem of their overthrow.—a playful allusion to which circumstance is to be found in the following extract of a letter, preserved among the papers of his grace the duke of Devonshire, from Henrietta, eldest daughter of the Marlboroughs, and wife to Godolphin's son:—

LADY RIALTON TO THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

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"Sept. 23, 1707.

"I leave this place, as does the duchess of Marlborough, for St. Albans; lord G——, and lord R——,¹ and your slave, for lord Kerr's (?); from thence to Newmarket, where your lord's expected. *Wee* hear he can't stay for your grace.

"*Wee* are every hour expecting to hear of three or four new ministers in great places, but the manner of the work is, I own, what delights me extremely, though I hear you, madame, have had some meetings with *him*.

"*Wee* are all well here, and like mightily *the queen's throwing back her chair*, being a strong argument for the dissolution. All letters, *wee* hear, are opened; this can't be, because it comes by a servant of the duchess of Marlborough's. I am, my lord duke's, and your grace's, with great sincerity and respect, most faithful, obedient, and humble servant,

"HTT. RIALTON."²

Her majesty passed the heat of the summer at Windsor, pursuing her usual amusement of hunting the stag in her high-wheeled chaise; the queen must have had great skill

¹ Lord Godolphin and his son, lord Rialton, the husband of the writer. "*Lord Kerr's*" does not seem so intelligible, without we have mistaken the word for lord *Kent*, afterwards duke of Kent, and the head of the powerful Gray family. He was lord high-chamberlain, and a whig.

² The letter being signed Htt. Rialton, the first name seeming to be a contraction of Henrietta; yet the construction of the epistle is more like that of a lord than a lady, but the indication of the Christian name shows that it *must* be written by *lady* Rialton.

in driving, or that species of good luck which often attends persons of headlong courage, or she would have met with a series of disasters similar to that which befell her friend the duchess of Somerset when following the royal hunt on her majesty's track in the same species of vehicle. The duchess gives a lively description of her fall, and her letter¹ at the same time affords a view of life at Windsor castle one hundred and forty years ago.

THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET TO THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.²

“ Windsor, Sept. y^e 30th, 1707.

“ I hope, dearest madame, this will find you at London, and well after your journey. I am very glad you think of coming to stay some days here, and I will undertake to keep you in everything but lodging, and do all I can to incline you to like Windsor, though I must own we have not much diversion. But if sixpenny ombre [*ombre*] will be any, you may have plenty of gamesters, and I hope you will find lady Harborough here; for though she has had the goute in her hand, 'tis now so much better that she thinks she shall be able to come a-Saturday, in order to come into waiting [on her majesty], or a-Munday. I hope she will have better luck than I had; for I was overturned in the chaise³ yesterday, and everybody thought I had broken all my bones, but, thank God, I had as little hurt as was possible.

“ I am, deare madame, y^r grace's most faithfull, humble servant,

“ E. SOMERSET.”

The duchess seems to connect the overturn in the chaise with the duties of the lady in waiting, who was evidently expected to follow her royal mistress in her dangerous pastime, in the same species of dangerous vehicle.

Without fatiguing the reader with the wrangling correspondence addressed, at this period, from Woodstock to Mrs. Masham at Windsor, wherein the queen is not mentioned, although her majesty's favor was the object of dispute, it is enough to say that the queen took away the interesting bride, Abigail, with her Samuel, to attend on her at the Newmarket October meeting, where the royal family remained a whole month. Her majesty returned to town in time to open her first parliament of Great Britain, November 6, 1707, when she made a speech containing her

¹ Devonshire Papers (inedited), copied by permission.

² The daughter of lady Russell. The duchess of Devonshire had newly come to her title.

³ The chaise was the hunting-chair.

usual entreaties that good-will and friendship might prevail among all ranks and parties of her subjects, especially in regard to cementing the newly-made Union. The Scotch, in an access of discontent, were already getting up petitions for dissolving the Union, and the English were giving themselves a superfluity of arrogant airs on the disgrace and displeasure they felt at being associated in one senate with their northern neighbors, and showed, withal, no slight touches of that jealousy of the queen's Scottish connections which formed a remarkable feature of the reign of James I. Turning from these public troubles to the internal warfare in her palace, the queen still strove to soothe the rage of her tyrant-duchess, by letters full of the most submissive expressions. On her majesty's return to Kensington, where she went to reside on account of the prince's asthma during the foggy month of November, she indited the following epistle, as an apology for leaving unanswered the foregoing inimitable missive from the duchess, and a series in the same style which is not forthcoming; the tenor, however, appears from the queen's letter, to consist of threats of Marlborough's resignation as commander-in-chief, and of lord Godolphin as lord treasurer,—threats which they by no means intended to carry into execution. Letters, at once sneering, taunting, and insolent, like the last quoted from the pen of the duchess, were answered by the queen with depression of spirit, almost amounting to sadness. It was the failing health of her husband, that Anne foresaw would, in a few short months, leave her alone in the world, which made her majesty thus lower herself, that there might be peace, in his time at least, among the usually turbulent elements of her household and cabinet council.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.¹

(*Under the names of Morley and Freeman.*)

"Kensington, Oct. 30th.

"If I have not answered dear Mrs. Freeman's letters (as indeed I should have done), I beg she would not impute it to anything but the apprehensions I was in of saying what might add to the ill impressions she has of me. For

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 200, 210.

though I believe we are both in the same opinion in the main, I have the misfortune that I cannot agree exactly in everything, and therefore what I say is not thought to have the least color of reason in it, which makes me really not care to enter into particulars. Though I am unwilling to do it, 'tis impossible to help giving some answer to your last letter, in which I find you think me insensible of everything. I am very sorry you, who have known me so long, can give way to such a thought as that 'I do not think the parting with my lord¹ Marlborough and my lord treasurer [Godolphin] as of much consequence,' because I did not mention anything of my lord Marlborough's kind letter concerning me. The reason of that was, I really was in a great hurry when I writ to you, and not having time to write on that subject to *both*, I thought it was the most necessary to endeavor to let him see he had no reason to have suspicions of any one's having power with me besides himself and my lord treasurer [Godolphin], and I hope they will believe me. Can dear Mrs. Freeman think I can be so stupid as not to be sensible of the great services that my lord Marlborough and lord treasurer have done me? nor of the great misfortune it would be if they should quit my service? No, sure! you cannot believe me so void of sense and gratitude. I never did, nor *never* will, give them any just reason to forsake me. They have too much honor, and too sincere a love for their country, to leave me without a cause, and I beg *you* will not add that to my other misfortunes of *pushing them on to such an unjust and unjustifiable action*. I think I had best say no more, for fear of being thought *troublesome*."

Or rather, the queen felt she was too near the truth, by expressing her consciousness of whose restless spirit it was that agitated her cabinet councillors. She concluded with words sufficiently honeyed to cover the mistake in her last sentence:—

"But whatever becomes of me, I shall always preserve a most sincere and tender passion for my dear Mrs. Freeman to my last moments."

The humiliating passages in this epistle were not deemed sufficiently expiatory by the froward recipient. The queen was not a little alarmed at the expression of visage with which the duchess of Marlborough resumed her duties at St. James's. Her style of countenance elicited a deprecatory epistle from her majesty, in the following strain:—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

(Under the names of Morley and Freeman.)

"Saturday night, St. James.

"MY DEAR MRS. FREEMAN:—

"I cannot go to bed without renewing the request which I have often made, that you would banish all unkind and unjust thoughts of your poor, unfortu-

¹ Both the queen and his wife often, according to long custom, spoke of him thus, instead of as duke of Marlborough.

nate, faithful Morley. I saw, by the glimpse I had of you yesterday, that you were full of 'em. Indeed I do not deserve 'em; and if you could see my heart, you would find it as sincere, as tender, and passionately fond of you as ever, and as truly sensible of your kindness in telling me your mind freely upon all occasions. Nothing shall ever alter me.

"Though we have the misfortune to differ in some things, I will ever be the same to my dear, *dear* Mrs. Freeman, who, I do assure, once more, I am more tenderly and sincerely hers than it is possible ever to express."

The queen's letter coming up to the duchess's ideas of her own deserts, she condescended to speak on the subject which had caused such portentous blackness to lower on her countenance, on her first meeting her royal mistress. It then appeared that the said lowering looks were preparatory to a severe account to which the wrathful dame meant to call her majesty for sundry derelictions on the part of Mrs. Masham, in omissions of answers to written lectures and calls unreturned, being clear avoidance of her irate cousin, who was greatly inconvenienced at not having opportunity of giving vent to her wrath, or, in her own style of self-laudation, frankly speaking her mind. Yet it is surprising that, notwithstanding the violent exaggerations of the duchess of Marlborough on the infamous conduct of the queen and her new favorite, she is unable to produce one tangible instance of injury, or even the least indication of aggression offered to her or hers by either. "I took an opportunity," writes¹ the angry duchess, "of speaking to her majesty about Mrs. Masham's late behavior," which behavior was merely keeping out of the way of various ratings in preparation for her,—rather in a slinking and cowardly manner, it is true, yet feminine cowardice is no crime. "Nevertheless, I could get from the queen little but this: 'Masham thought you were angry with her, and was afraid to come near you.' Upon which I reasoned a good while with the queen, asking 'Why Masham should be afraid, if she had done me no injury?' All ended in this, that the queen herself approved of what Masham had done;" or rather, of what she had not done, as the sins for

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., inedited, Brit. Museum.

which her majesty and Masham were taken to task were those of omission, and not of commission.

Finding that Anne's passiveness gave very imperfect satisfaction to her ebullitions of fiery rage, the duchess went to molest the prime-minister Godolphin, by sending him to lecture her majesty. Lord Godolphin, after an interview with the queen, when making his report, either real or pretended, told her grace "that he had, indeed, convinced the queen that Mrs. Masham was in the wrong, but that it was evident that her majesty would have preferred considering her to be in the right."¹ The result was, that the culprit was brought to express, in writing, a request "that the duchess would please appoint a time to be waited on, that she might learn from her wherein she had offended." Accordingly the time was set, the culprit made her appearance, and the duchess opened her list of grievances by saying, "that 'it was very certain that she [Masham] took frequent occasions of going to the queen, and being alone with her; and that as she took great pains to conceal these facts from me, it was a sign that no good was meant to me by it.' On my saying so, Mrs. Masham *appeared* to cry, and made a protestation 'that she had never spoken to the queen about anything of consequence, only giving her now and then a petition that came from the back-stairs, just to save me the trouble of doing it.'² Then I observed, 'How extremely changed the queen was in her disposition to me, and that it must be necessarily some ill offices that were the occasion.'³

Here Mrs. Masham, who had proceeded thus far with praiseworthy caution, made a mistake, perhaps only a verbal one; indeed, she evidently thought she was saying something very satisfactory. She answered, that "She was sure the queen, who had loved the duchess so extremely, would always be kind to her."—"Thus," exclaims the duchess,

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., in-edited, Brit. Museum.

² Calamy's presentation copy is a case in point.

³ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., in-edited, Brit. Museum.

interrupting her own detail, "*she*, who pretended just before to live at so humble a distance from the queen, should forget herself, and in the very next breath take upon *herself* to know so much of the queen's mind as to 'assure *me* that her majesty would be always very kind to *me*!' It was very shocking to me to be assured of the queen's favor by one that I had raised from starving, and to whom I had given the opportunity of getting favor to herself, of which she made so ill use. Her speech produced only silence, without raising that passion and resentment natural,—indeed, I was perfectly stunned." Upon which, Mrs. Masham rose nimbly from her seat, saying, very briskly, "She hoped I would permit her sometimes to inquire after my health, and with the usual civility took her leave,"¹ or, more correctly speaking, made her escape.

In whatsoever light the *mal-à-propos* speech of Abigail may appear to impartial persons, it is certain that, small or great, it was the only personal offence ever given by her to her former patroness. It is very evident that the poor woman merely meant to say, "the queen has loved you so long and tenderly, that it is not likely such love can ever suffer any diminution." However, the speech, such as it was, remained broiling and fermenting in the fiery mind of the duchess, ready for an outrageous explosion. The outbreak took place early as the Christmas holidays of 1707, when the belligerent party went ostensibly to compliment and congratulate queen Anne, but really to quarrel with her. "Before I went in," says the duchess of Marlborough,² "I learnt from the page that Mrs. Masham was just sent for. The moment I saw the queen, I plainly perceived she was very uneasy. She stood all the while I was with her, and looked so coldly upon me, as if I should no longer doubt of the loss of her affections. Upon observing what reception I had, I said to her, 'I was sorry I had happened to come so unseasonably.' I then made my courtesies to go away, when the queen, with a great deal of disorder in her face, and without speaking one word, took me by the hand. And when thereupon I stooped to kiss

¹ Conduct.² Ibid.

hers, she took me up with a very cold embrace, and then, without one kind word, let me go."

A written lecture to the queen was the inevitable consequence of an unsatisfactory reception, which, according to the above description, might have been occasioned by trouble of mind, or even by personal pain :—

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

(*Under the names of Morley and Freeman.*)

"December 27, 1707.

"If Mrs. Morley will be so just as to reflect and examine impartially her last reception of Mrs. Freeman, how very different from what it has been formerly, when *you* were glad to see *her* come in, and sorry when she went away, certainly *you* can't wonder at her reproaches upon an embrace that seemed to have no satisfaction in it but that of getting rid of her, in order to enjoy the conversation of one that has the good fortune to please *you* better. . . .

"So much by way of apology for what happened on Wednesday last."

The last clause raises the idea that some scene took place of more positive demonstration of rage than what is described in the narrative she called her "Conduct." A tradition of the last century, quoted from a periodical called the "London Chronicle," says that the duchess slammed the door of the queen's closet after her, so that the noise was heard several rooms off.

Over and above the rage and jealousy with which the queen's favor to Masham was viewed by the duchess, there was a matter of private interest pending, on which the queen was not quite so generous and compliant as usual; this was the grant of that portion of the demesnes of St. James's on which the present Marlborough house stands. The duchess had a great wish to possess an independent palace of her own, and this was the site she chose; but, according to her own account, "the queen had suffered lord Godolphin to importune her for the gift of this ground to the duchess of Marlborough *since* a long time." Probably some reminiscences of her youth and departed friends caused the demur in the mind of the queen. It was the private pleasure-garden of her uncle Charles and his consort, Catharine of Braganza; it was the scene of Anne's earliest sports and recollections, for she was born in the

adjoining palace. The duchess of Marlborough had fixed her mind on possessing this garden and its appurtenances long before the death of the queen-dowager, Catharine of Braganza. According to her own account, she had extorted from queen Anne a promise of it, deeming herself at the same time an injured person, because she was not suffered to thrust out queen Catharine's lessees. "For my part," says the duchess, "I believe that the queen-dowager [Catharine] had no good right to anything after she lived in Portugal. Yet my lord Godolphin was so *nice*, that he would not displace the meanest person that had the pretence to plead of right from long service to her."¹ Why should he? Godolphin had sometimes the decency to remember those from whom he had received benefits in early life.

The wished-for death of the queen-dowager had taken place in the preceding year; nevertheless, queen Anne continued to resist the importunities of Godolphin and the angry duchess to deface her royal aunt's pleasaunce at St. James's. At length, the unappeasable fury of the duchess, and an approaching political crisis, caused her majesty to give way, and the grant was made over to the Marlborough family for fifty years about this period. The duchess says, "Queen Catharine had given her interest in the ground to the sisters of lord Feversham, her chamberlain. For full twenty years, these two Frenchwomen lived in it."² Not *in* the ground, it may be supposed, but in some fragment of the old conventual remains of St. James's, called 'the Friary.' "I had," pursues the duchess, "the house of the countess du Roy, and where queen Catharine's priests lived, having obtained the promise of the queen *before* the death of the queen-dowager, Catharine of Braganza, of the site in St. James's park,³ upon which my house now stands.

¹ Duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson, written in 1713, while on the continent; Coxe MSS. vol. xv., Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

³ In another MS. paper, Brit. Museum, addressed to Hutchinson in 1711 or 1713, the duchess says, "This ground, which was enjoyed for twenty years at least by a Frenchwoman *without envy*, was valued to me by the Examiner [a periodical of that day] at 10,000*l.* But let this be as it will, I pay a certain rent for it to the queen's exchequer, and as it is her ground, the green-cloth have taxed me for that house at the rate of 300*l.* a year. It has cost the duke

The grant was at first but for fifty years, and the building cost between forty and fifty thousand pounds, of which queen Anne paid not one shilling, although many angry people believed otherwise."¹ The rage of the people was, to do them justice, not at the outlay, or supposed outlay, by the queen of the public money in favor of the duchess, but they were peculiarly aggravated because, in laying the foundations of the palace, called to this day "Marlborough house," she had caused to be rooted up a fine young oak-tree, sprung from an acorn which king Charles II. had set with his own hand. The king had plucked the acorn from his friendly oak,² that screened him so well at Boscobel. He had planted it in the pleasure-garden that belonged to his queen, Catharine of Braganza, which once occupied the site of Marlborough house and joined the park, extending nearly down the south side of Pall-Mall.

The English people have always been passionately fond of the historical circumstance of their king's preservation in their national tree. To this hour, there is not a town in England, and scarcely a village, but bears some memorial of "the royal oak" in the only pictorial indication that pertains to the people, which is, alas! but in the signs of their drinking-houses. It was in vain that, for wearing oak-leaves in their hats, English peasants were doomed, in the reigns of William and Mary, and at this period of that of their sister Anne, to incarceration in the village stocks.³ In vain did "singing of the blithesome song of the 29th of May," subject the songster to the pains and penalties of clownish treason, the crime being expiated in the stocks and at the whipping-post. The song had got possession of the English heart, nor could the above pains and penalties

of Marlborough between 40,000*l.* and 50,000*l.*, and the lease of it was but for fifty years, five or six of which are run out since the grant." This last remark dates the queen's grant of this demesne of the crown in the year 1707, a period when, in all probability, queen Anne did not covet the very near neighborhood of the duchess.

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 292, 293.

² Charles II. paid a visit to the scene of his peril after his succession, when he must have brought away this acorn. See Pepys's Letters.

³ Swift's Memoirs of a Parish Clerk.

hinder this refrain from being shouted, even in the stocks, of—

“Old Pendrill, the miller, at risk of his blood,
Hid the king of the isle in the king of the wood.”

When such popular predilections are remembered, it will not excite surprise that all the wealth, the influence, and the enormous military power vested in the hands of her husband could not prevent the favorite of queen Anne from being made aware of the indignation of the people, from among whom she was sent three epigrams on the destruction of Charles II.'s sapling oak, each bitterer than the other. The first is endorsed:—

“Upon rooting up the royal oak in St. James's park, raised from an acorn set by the hands of Charles II., who brought the same from the oak of Boscobel, his old hiding-place.”

“THE ROYAL SAPLING OAK.

“Whilst Sarah from the royal ground,
Roots up the royal oak,
The sapling, groaning from the wound,
Thus to the siren spoke:
'Ah! may the omen kindly fail,
For poor Britannia's good;
Or else not only me you fell,
But *her*¹ who owns the wood.' ”²

The conduct of the duchess was by no means considered as expiated by this literary castigation, for the epigram was succeeded by one more stern:—

“THE SEASONABLE CAUTION.

“Be cautious, madame, how you thus provoke
This sturdy plant, the second royal oak;
For should you fell it, or remove it hence,
When dead it may revenge the vile offence,
And build a scaffold in another place,
That may ere long prove fatal to 'your Grace!
Nay, furnish out a useful gallows too,
Sufficient for your friends, though not for you.

¹ Queen Anne.

² The author of these lines signed himself “H. G.” in the manuscripts of popular poems and songs collected by Robert, earl of Oxford.—Tracts, Brit. Museum.

Then let it stand a monument of fame,
 To that forgiving prince who set the same;
 For should it fall by you the world may say,
 The fate may be your own another day."

A third severer monition appeared from the public:—

"THE MURMURS OF THE OAK.

"Why dost thou root me up, ungrateful hand?
 My father saved the king who saved the land,
 That king to whom thy mother owed her fame.¹

* * * * *

But since the malice of her spawn, your grace,
 Presumes to rend me from my resting-place,
 Where by the royal hand I first was set,
 And from an acorn thrived to be thus great,
 May I be hewed, now rooted up by thee,
 Into some lofty famous triple tree,
 Where none may swing but such as have betrayed
 Those generous powers by which themselves were made.
 Then may I hope to gain as much renown,
 By hanging up my foes that cut me down,
 As my tall parent, when he bravely stood
 The monarch's safeguard in the trembling wood.
 I know not which would prove the next good thing,
 To hang up traitors, or preserve a king."

Terrible disputes and divisions rent the queen's cabinet council from the hour that the jealousy of the family junta was excited against Robert Harley, the ex-speaker of the house of commons; some individuals among them suspected that the queen's consort favored this rival. Prince George, hitherto their systematic supporter, had been at this period greatly enraged at the second censure parliament had cast on his administration of the navy, although he had clearly proved that the sums voted for its support were directed to other channels, to swell the armies which Marlborough yearly led to the fruitless fields of Flemish victories.

An ever-recurring incident in the life of queen Anne was the necessity of witnessing daily contentions of angry men in those furious debates they called the queen's cabinet councils. The persons composing them had little respect

¹ This is an allusion to the scandals which pursued the memory of the duchess of Marlborough's mother.

for her past conduct, and not the least confidence in her earnest desire to atone, by her blameless conduct as queen, for the questionable course which had brought her to that high station; consequently, they put slight restraint on their evil passions if irritated, and, forgetting the deference due to a lady, as well as that which they owed to their sovereign, scrupled not to rage around her with all the coarseness and fury of brutal natures. A remarkable scene of this kind took place early in the year 1708, when the queen made her first endeavor to free herself from the chains of the Marlboroughs, and to displace Godolphin as lord treasurer. Her majesty told Mr. St. John her resolution, and sent him with a letter to the duke of Marlborough, having first read it to her messenger. A still more extraordinary step was, that the queen at the same time bade St. John "tell what she had done about town," which he did without reserve. The first week in February, 1708, was the period of this struggle, which produced an extraordinary excitation in a council, where her majesty presided personally, on the evening of the second Sunday in that month. When Harley, who was the minister intended by the queen to succeed Godolphin, delivered a memorial to her relating to the war, the duke of Marlborough and lord-treasurer Godolphin left the room abruptly. The duke of Somerset then rose, and, pointing to Harley, said rudely to the queen, that "If she suffered that fellow to treat of affairs of the war without the advice of the general, he could not serve her."¹ The queen succumbed to the storm, and Harley was for a time dismissed and driven from her. His secretary, Gregg, was arrested and thrown into Newgate, on a charge of correspondence with France. Harley was in nearly as much danger from the ministers, who thought they had proof strong enough of his correspondence with St. Germans; but he probably received intelligence from his royal mistress, which enabled him successfully to recriminate on the Jacobite letters of Marlborough and Godolphin to keep them in check. The imprisoned secretary of Harley was hanged; his petty dealings with French bribes came out in

¹ Scott's Swift Correspondence, vol. xv. p. 297.

that inquiry, which was to have implicated his master. It was likewise discovered that the queen extended her private charity by sending comforts and necessaries to the wretched Gregg in prison, by her physician Arbuthnot. A political outcry followed, but it was proved that such was the constant custom of her majesty in every case. Anne was most unwilling to sentence any one to death, and when forced so to do, tried to alleviate the miseries of the condemned by her secret beneficence.

The great magnates in the triumphant faction were not ashamed to combine for the purpose of agitating the house of commons to petition the queen to dismiss Mrs. Masham.¹ Yet some heads there are whose level is too lowly to afford suitable marks for the launch of such mighty bolts. The woman was, after all, but a common chambermaid, a mere knitter of knots and tier of strings. The English parliament would have denounced a *lady* of the bedchamber, but feared the ridicule that would have attended the solemn displacement of a dresser. So the queen's Abigail escaped, but many ominous notes exist regarding the vengeance the Marlborough duchess longed to take on her humble rival while the threatened petition was in agitation; as "Abigail is alarmed; she knows not which way to turn."² As this redoubtable enemy had been a servant-maid, and in rank was, even in 1708 (notwithstanding the favor of her royal mistress), too low for political vengeance, the combination against her seems sufficiently contemptible. The queen, whose personal attentions to her dying husband made the assistance of Abigail Masham, as a handmaid in the sick-chamber, more than ever needful to her, constantly protested, "that to make her a great lady, or a political power, was perfectly against her will and wish."³

Marlborough's threat of throwing up the command of the army every time the queen resisted any innovation by his family junta, was, in the present instance, fully successful; although at last the rod, which was never intended to fall, was shaken so often that it lost the desired effect.

¹ Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum; vol. xv.

² Ibid.

³ Lord Dartmouth's Notes.

As Harley had been driven off by this means, the duchess was determined to try what a similar proceeding would do in her case towards dislodging the mutual kinswoman of Harley and herself. In utter ignorance of how she had, unawares, broken the charm she had in early life thrown round the queen by inducing her to believe that, howsoever rough and rude she might be in speech and writing, yet Sarah, at the bottom of her heart, loved Anne better than all the riches, power, titles, and other good things that she had received from the said Anne, she went with the full intention of playing on those feelings, totally unconscious that, by a mere accident, her own loud tongue and insolence of heart had exploded such belief in the queen's mind beyond any possibility of self-deception. "The day before the duke of Marlborough writ his letter to take leave of the queen, in February, 1707-8, I waited upon her majesty, and told her 'that she was not pleased to tell me of her affairs as formerly, yet I had an account of everything from my lord Marlborough and lord Godolphin, who, I perceived, would be forced to leave her service very soon, and upon that account I should be obliged to do so too; but that I had one favor to beg of her majesty, and that was, that she would please to give me leave to resign my employments to my children, that I might have the satisfaction of seeing that her majesty would permit them to enjoy these, as *legacies* from me in my lifetime,'"¹—a reasonable request! to render hereditary a few of the greatest places about the royal person in one family interest, to the amount of 6000*l.* per annum according to the calculation of the duchess, and upwards of 9000*l.* per annum by the calculation of the opposite party. And while the queen was, at every turn, surrounded by the holders of these modest "legacies," the mother would take the maternal right of raising as many furious quarrels in the royal family and household as had been her wonted custom since the accession of James II. The queen was silent. The duchess, after a pause for assent, went on with her oration on the

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., inedited, Brit. Museum.

propriety of sanction being instantly given to such an admirable arrangement. "I observed," continued she, "that this was no injury to any one, as I thought none of the ladies of the bedchamber could be disobliged by it; because nobody could wonder that her majesty should have so much consideration for me as to do this on my account, whom she had honored so long with her favor and friendship, and especially since my daughters were married into some of the first families of the nation, and were of a quality very suitable to those places, according to all the precedents that had gone before them. For as to the place of groom of the stole, which was the most considerable, her majesty might remember that lord Bath was groom of the stole to king Charles II., lady Arlington to the queen-dowager [Catharine of Braganza], lord and lady Peterborough to king James II. and his queen, lord Romney [Henry Sidney] to king William III. [being a peer of his own making], and the countess of Derby to queen Mary, her majesty's sister. I added, 'that though I had always used the best endeavors to serve her, yet she would not be worse served when she had three to do it instead of one.'

"All this," continues the duchess,¹ "the queen heard 'very patiently,' and at length told me 'that she could not grant my request, not because she was not satisfied that my children could not serve her without giving just offence to any one, but because she should never part from me as long as she lived.' I answered in the most grateful manner I could, and many kind things passed on both sides; but I still continued to press the queen to grant me the favor I desired of her, and the queen denied it in the same kind way. At last, the whole ended with this, that if the duke of Marlborough *could* continue in her service, *I* should not desire to leave her; but if that proved to be impossible, I hoped she would be pleased to grant my request of resigning my places to my children. The queen promised me she would do it, and I kissed her hand on that account.' " "

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., inedited, Brit. Museum.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

The duchess pursues her narrative with the assertion, "that the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin were continued in their places by the interposition of the prince George of Denmark." Her testimony is in direct opposition to historians in general, who pronounce him to have been more inimical to that party than the queen; yet that the duchess of Marlborough ever deemed him the fast friend of herself and her party can be ascertained by symptoms more certain than her words, even by her abstinence from abusing or reviling him. The persons who were the most intimate in the palace, or with the ministry of queen Anne, give totally diverse statements on this head. The duchess of Marlborough's positive declaration was, that the prince was the friend of the revolutionary party, and kept the queen steady to its interests whilst he lived; and the result of events, which we see from the vantage-ground of nearly a century and a half, bears out her assertion. The change of the queen was too sudden after the loss of her spouse to be a mere coincidence.¹ Others declare that prince George, in the last year of his life, was thoroughly disgusted with the government of the family junta, and would have cleared the administration of them, leaving, perforce, the duke of Marlborough at the head of the army; but he found a ramification of the endless chain all-powerful in his own domestic *régime*. George Churchill, who had been his favorite since the age of fourteen, and was now his factotum and dispenser of every species of business, soon showed, although he was himself an especial *bête noir* of his sister-in-law, that his family interests were paramount to any party by which he chose to designate himself, albeit George Churchill termed himself tory, and even Jacobite, in his carouses.

About a month before the duke of Marlborough departed for the Flemish campaign, his brother George informed the prince "that Marlborough was determined to throw up the command of the army, if Mr. Harley and his colleagues displaced lord Godolphin, or, indeed, if Mr. Harley was

¹ Life of Edmund Calamy exactly coincides with this statement, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116.

suffered to continue in place.”—“Prince George of Denmark, thus intimidated by George Churchill,” adds Swift, who is the historical memorialist of Harley himself, “reported the matter to the queen, and time failing, and the service pressing, her majesty was forced to yield.” And, as the duke of Marlborough said carelessly at his levee next morning, “Harley was turned out.”¹ The head and front of Harley’s offending appear to be confined to the fact that he had been speaker to the economical tory parliament which had resisted the profuse grant that queen Anne proposed for the duke of Marlborough at the commencement of her reign. As for his Jacobitism, regarding which a loud outcry is made by the Marlboroughs, it does not appear from the view of events that he was more sincere in that interest than themselves, his aim, like theirs, being but to cajole the exiled prince. The queen was suffering at this time from her constitutional disease of ophthalmia. Prince George, who often took his place in the house of lords as duke of Cumberland, and now and then made a speech in his broken English, complained “that it was not likely the queen’s eyes would be better, since she was detained to sit up so late at council.” His own increasing infirmities made early rest very desirable to him.

An alarming crisis was at hand, which drew the queen’s attention,—Scotland and the northern counties of England were ready to burst into rebellion. The attempted invasion of Scotland, in the spring of 1708, was observed to occasion great alarm in her majesty’s mind, and an utter change in the style of her speeches from the throne. Hitherto, the word “revolution” had never passed the lips of her majesty; neither had she ever mentioned the cause of it, nor any of the individuals by whom it was promoted.² The persons who composed her speeches had tacitly implied that she succeeded her father by hereditary right, and was not an elective queen. As the danger of invasion became more manifest, the queen’s speech found a new appellation

¹ Swift’s *Memoirs* relating to the Change in the Queen’s Ministry.—Scott’s *Swift*, vol. iii. p. 177.

² Tindal’s *Continuation*, vol. ii. pp. 58–60.

for her brother; formerly he was 'the pretended prince of Wales,' but since the year 1708 he was called 'the Pretender,' for by this epithet his sister branded him, in her dismissal of the parliament in the autumn of 1708. It may be observed that this epoch formed the third change of the feelings of queen Anne towards him since the Revolution.

One of those singular scenes took place at this crisis, which told, rather touchingly, the divided state of the queen's heart between the safety of her country and the danger in which the last near relative that remained to her was involved. Sir George Byng, when he sailed to intercept his invasion, had no instructions as to the person of the Pretender. Some in council had proposed "measures of despatch" (that is, the proscription of his life), but the moving appearance of the queen's flowing tears prevented all further deliberation. The council broke up in confusion.¹ It has been said that the queen's brother was actually taken on board the Salisbury, an English ship that had formerly become a prize to the French, which was now recaptured by sir George Byng near the mouth of the Forth at the time of the attempted invasion; and that sir George treated the young prince, according to the queen's orders, with the utmost respect, and landed him on the French coast. There were several Jacobites captured on board the Salisbury, who stood their trials for high treason. The queen was actually prevailed upon to sign the death-warrant of one of them, old lord Griffin, who was condemned to be beheaded, June 16, 1708. Swift speaks of this projected execution in terms of levity:—"The boys of the town are mighty happy; for we are to have a beheading next week, unless the queen will interpose her mercy." In fact, Anne never would consent to the execution of the old Jacobite, but regularly respited him every month, till he pined away and died in the Tower, in 1710. His death, it is affirmed, was occasioned by old age, and not by the weight of the queen's death-warrant hanging over him.² The

¹ Birch MS., 4221, art. 6; Brit. Museum.

² History of Conspiracies against William, Anne, etc., p. 208.

queen must have known lord Griffin from her earliest infancy, for he had followed her father in all his wanderings, and attended him when she was with him at Brussels and Scotland. He was, at the Revolution, remarkable for his personal fidelity to his unfortunate master, and was lieutenant-colonel of James II.'s regiment of guards, which bore the name of the Coldstream.¹

Notwithstanding the pacification effected in the spring, disputes between queen Anne and her prime-minister Godolphin soon became frequent, and at last almost interminable, during the summer of 1708. The conduct of lord Sunderland, of whom the queen complained often that he treated her with personal insult, was usually the subject of these differences.² The duchess of Marlborough was unwise enough, after she had failed in driving the queen to any distasteful measure, to send lord Godolphin to lecture her majesty into compliance. She had, withal, no judgment in regard to the importance of the matter on which she summoned this aid. The whig premier was as often called upon to settle an old-clothes insurrection as to coerce the sovereign in her appointment of a dignitary of the church. Once the queen would not submit to the appointment of sir James Montague, the brother of lord Halifax, to some post thought good for the family interest, the Montagues having become connections of the junta that governed England since the marriage of the duchess's daughter with the heir of the duke of Montague; therefore the dispute was carried on vivaciously by lord Godolphin, and was met with unyielding obstinacy by the queen. "The battle," wrote lord Godolphin, "might have lasted till midnight if the clock had not struck three, when the prince of Denmark thought fit to come in, and look as if it were dinner-time."³ One of the matters in dispute, when the prince thus broke the discussion by "looking anxiously for his dinner," appears to be the same mentioned in the Walpole State-

¹ Burke's *Extinct Peerage*.

² Lord Dartmouth's *Notes to Burnet*.

³ *Marlborough Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 242; Godolphin to the duke of Marlborough, June 13, 1708.

Papers, where it is noted that, in June, 1708, a struggle ensued between queen Anne and the duke of Marlborough relative to the appointment of colonels in the army. Marlborough declared, and certainly with justice, that, as general, he must best know what officers were the most deserving of promotion. Yet the offensive exercise of the queen's personal will in this matter arose, not from her own pleasure, but to gratify her husband, prince George; who, in his turn, had been solicited by his favorite, the brother of the duke of Marlborough, George Churchill. A violent dispute ensued; colonel Lillingston's regiment was given to colonel Jones, the *protégé* of prince George. Marlborough, although his own brother was at the bottom of the intrigue, was exceedingly enraged, and wrote a letter of reproof to him, while the whole of his party took the queen to task. There was, moreover, a report that it was effected through the agency of Mr. Harley; and Robert Walpole, then secretary at war, was accused of circulating that rumor. George Churchill ran with the duke of Marlborough's letter to the queen and the prince, who were both exceedingly displeased at the tenor of it.¹

Daily threats of impeachment, notwithstanding her humble station, continued to be thundered by the junta against the queen's Abigail, although great difficulties certainly existed to make out a case, either public or private, of any injury done to the duchess of Marlborough, or to any other person, by her cautious and quiet kinswoman. At last, the duchess found out something that looked like an invasion of one of her rights, and posted off to Kensington palace to make a thorough investigation of the same. Kensington was the place where the queen withdrew, as often as possible, to nurse her declining husband in the quiet and good air. Sickness and silence have no charms for the gay world, even if they are the lot of the royal occupants of a palace. The queen and Abigail Masham, as may be gathered from the subsequent narrative, were permitted to remain almost in solitude with the dying prince, when

¹ The duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum.

the enraged dame broke upon the invalid seclusion of Kensington with furious representations of the injuries they were committing against her vested rights. It seems, some court-spy or gossiping mischief-maker had been commenting to the haughty duchess "on the grand apartments in which her cousin Masham received company whenever her friends visited her at Kensington palace." After due cogitation on the length, breadth, and other geographical particulars of the designated apartments, the duchess came to the conclusion "that they must be the same which had been fitted up by king William for his favorite Keppel, adjacent to his royal suite, and that they had been subsequently allotted by queen Anne to *her*;"¹ and though she had never used them, and scarcely knew their situation, she flew off to Kensington, with the strong determination that they should be appropriated by no other person.

It must be borne in mind that the excessive corpulence of prince George, joined to his sufferings both from gout and asthma, made the ascension of flights of stairs almost impracticable to him; he was therefore lodged on the ground-floor at Kensington palace, from whence he could make short excursions for air and exercise amid his trees and plants, of which he was excessively fond. Among his favorite tastes and pursuits, he was one of the greatest promoters of arboriculture and horticulture in England,—tastes which, fortunately for the country, have appertained to the throne for the preceding three hundred years, giving to the face of the country that paradisaical aspect which is always surprising to the eyes of foreigners; for the English, whilst sturdily limiting as much as possible the positive power of their monarchs, are the most sedulous mimics of all their personal tastes and habits, even when they have happened to be not so well deserving of imitation.

The queen, in the utmost anxiety for the existence of the husband whom she had devotedly loved from her youth upwards, arranged to their mutual convenience the rooms at Kensington palace, sharing with him a suite on the ground-

¹ The duchess of Marlborough's letter to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum.

floor, for they always inhabited the same apartment. Of course it was a mere matter of necessity, and no studied disrespect to her grace of Marlborough, that her majesty's attendants inhabited the adjacent apartments on the same floor, that they might be at hand to give assistance to the queen in the night; for prince George had been in danger of death several times that spring and summer, and must have expired in the suffocating spasms of coughing, if the queen had not raised him in her arms, and supported him until aid could be summoned. It was impossible for the duchess of Marlborough to be in ignorance of these circumstances when she posted to Kensington as the disturber of the queen's arrangements relative to the comforts of her dying consort, for the only knowledge concerning them is actually gleaned from her own manuscript.¹ The angry inquisitor, moreover, marks the period full well, by observing "that these occurrences took place *after* Mr. Harley had been turned out, and Godolphin and Marlborough continued in their places by the interposition of the prince." Now, this was in the spring of 1708, and the prince was defunct before six months had passed away. "Having heard accidentally," says the duchess,² "in conversation with my friends, in how great state Mrs. Masham received her company at Kensington, by the description that was made of her chambers I had a great suspicion upon me that she had made use of part of my lodgings, which were what the queen had given me, and *furnished* for me, soon after her coming to the crown, and had particularly expressed to me 'that they were the same suite that my lord Albemarle, king William's Dutch favorite, had in his reign.' They were sufficiently known to the housekeeper and all the servants at Kensington palace. I thought it was strange that Mrs. Masham should do this without my consent; but, on the other hand, she had opportunities enough of doing it, because I seldom made any use of these lodgings. For when I had occasion to wait on the queen at

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson, inedited; Coxo MSS.

² *Ibid.*, Coxo Papers, Brit. Museum.

Kensington, I chose to return in the evening to my family, which at so small a distance it was very easy to do, rather than stay there." Thus the apartments, concerning which, in the true spirit of the dog in the manger, she was hastening to snarl and wrangle, although furnished for her at the queen's expense, she had never occupied, and would evidently, by her last words, have made it a grievance if obliged so to do. "However, to know the truth of the matter, I went to Kensington, and ordered the housemaid to let me into my own lodgings; and as I was going to the *lower* rooms (for my lodgings consisted of two floors, one under the other), the maid told me I could not go into any part of *that* floor, which was divided between Mrs. Masham and the bedchamber woman in waiting. Upon this I went to the queen, and complained to her 'of meeting with *such* usage as was wholly new at court, in Mrs. Masham's taking from me part of the lodgings which she herself long ago had been pleased to give me; and the bedchamber woman in waiting had been put into another part of them.' The queen only answered, 'Masham has none of your rooms.' She repeated this so often, and was so positive in it, that I began to believe that there was some mistake in what the maid had told me, and went away, begging the queen's pardon for having troubled her about the matter."¹

But the matter was not destined to remain thus in abeyance. Instigated by her suspicions that, by some means or other, a portion of her own deserted suite was made available by somebody, the restless dame soon made another incursion on the queen's peace at Kensington. "When I went next to Kensington," pursues the duchess, "I inquired more fully about it, and found not only that Mrs. Masham had done all I suspected, but that she had used a great many little arts in the management of her design. She got the bedchamber woman in waiting to be removed into one end of my suite, and thus had the chambers wholly to herself that had belonged to the bedchamber woman in waiting, and were just beyond my lodgings on the same

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson, inedited; Coxe Papers, Brit. Museum.

floor. Any one, in the common way of thinking, would have imagined this to be the same thing as if she had gone herself directly into my lodgings, since the bedchamber woman was removed into them purely on her account, and to make room for her in another place. I supposed she thought she could give the whole the turn (if any noise should be made about it) that it was done for the convenience of the queen's women." Thus the whole affair resolved itself into the fact that the queen had put her chamber-attendant in a vacant apartment of the duchess's deserted suite, and Mrs. Masham had got the use of those rooms this attendant had vacated; thus the queen was borne out in her remark, "Masham has none of your rooms." She was, however, suspected of occasionally passing through them, or having her visitors ushered through them, and that was enough to incite another attack on the queen. "When I had discovered all this, I went again to the queen, and told her 'that I could now satisfy her how wrong an account had been given her of Mrs. Masham *not* having taken away any part of my lodgings; for I had just found, by all the evidence possible, that she certainly had done it, for I had just then been in the upper floor for the housemaid to describe to me what part it was she had taken underneath.'¹ But the queen still persisted in saying, 'I am sure Masham has taken none of your rooms;' and 'that to say to the contrary, is false and a lie!' which was a way of speaking I had never heard her make use of to any one, till she came under the practices of Abigail. I desired then that she [the queen] would send for Mr. Lowman, the housekeeper, who was the proper person to determine in this matter, and knew best 'what my lord Albemarle's lodgings were which her majesty had been pleased to give me, and what Mrs. Masham made use of at present.' But the queen said, 'I will not do that, for I know that Masham has none of your lodgings.' I called upon Mr. Lowman, as I went away, to talk to him about the matter; and I told him 'that though Mrs. Masham had

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum.

taken a part of my lodgings and joined it to her own, yet as the queen had assured me that she had not done it, she must be imposed upon in this matter; and that I wondered how a bedchamber woman, that I had raised from nothing, should think of taking my rooms from me, who would not have taken hers without her leave.' As I expected, the report of what I said was carried immediately to Abigail, and next morning she sent Mr. Lowman to tell me 'that she did not know that the lodgings she had made use of were mine; but she had begun to take down her furniture, and would immediately clear them;' and this she did accordingly."¹

As the summer advanced, the symptoms of prince George became more alarming. The queen found he did not recover his health at Kensington, and was anxious to remove him to Bath, the place where all physicians at that period sent their patients for restoration of health. Before, however, the royal household removed, the angry dame of Marlborough paid another visitation to Kensington, on her suspicion being roused that her suite of rooms had again been invaded by Mrs. Masham. "Afterwards," says the duchess,² "upon my not using my lodgings (which you will easily imagine I had no great inclination to do, though I did not care to be so far insulted as to have them taken from me against my consent), I discovered that Mrs. Masham had made use of them again. I complained of that also to the queen, telling her, 'Mrs. Masham cannot now pretend to be ignorant whose lodgings they were.' Her majesty was again angry and positive, saying, 'It was a lie; Masham had not made use of them.' Then I told her majesty, 'that I could bring forward before her several people that had seen her goods and servants in my rooms.' To which, almost in the same breath in which she had given me the lie, the queen asked, 'How could she help using them?'—meaning, I suppose, that her own were too little for her grandeur!" There is something here left untold by the self-partial narrator. The poor harassed queen,

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxo MSS., Brit. Museum.

² Ibid.

no doubt, asked her the question in reference to the neighborhood of the suite to her husband's sick-room. The consequence was, that Mrs. Masham was given another suite of apartments, "suitable enough for her grandeur," observes the taunting duchess; "and it is very remarkable, notwithstanding all this rudeness and impertinence to me upon this occasion, she had the whole house, Kensington palace being in a manner empty, to choose her lodgings in."¹

It may be remembered that the first quarrel between Anne and her sister, queen Mary, began with these contemptible wranglings about lodgings. As the Marlborough duchess commenced her court career, so she finished it. In fact, it is impossible justly to accord this person the meed of greatness of mind or character, for the causes of her contentions were despicable for their pettiness. Great characters never contend for trifles, seek for affronts, or make stormy tumults to gain small results. Greatness is inseparable from magnanimity; there was nothing great about the duchess of Marlborough, excepting the enormity of the sums of money she amassed. Her soul dwelt in the atmosphere most congenial to a chambermaid, or a lodging-keeper, and seemed most in its element contending for perquisites of old gowns, or stoutly defending encroachments on the localities of dwelling-rooms.

The last inbreak of the duchess of Marlborough on the invalid quiet of Kensington was immediately followed by the removal of the queen from that palace. Her majesty retired to Windsor as early as July, not to the royal establishment of her stately castle, but to the small house or cottage in Windsor forest, purchased by her in the days when the wrath of her sister, queen Mary, rendered her an alien from all English palaces. Thither queen Anne brought her sick consort, and there, unencumbered by the trammels of royalty, she watched over him, and sympathized with his sufferings. The reason the prince passed the summer at the small house was evidently because the site of Wind-

¹ Letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson; Coxe MSS., Brit. Museum. The deserted state of Kensington palace, at this period, is thus gathered from the duchess's own letter.

sor castle being high, the air was too bleak for his cough. The duchess of Marlborough was peculiarly incensed at this proceeding, attributing it to all kinds of furtive intrigues, in these words:—¹ “Through the whole summer after Mr. Harley’s dismissal, the queen continued to have secret correspondence with him. And that this might be better managed, she stayed all the sultry season, even when the prince was panting for breath, in that small house she had formerly purchased at Windsor, which, though as hot as an oven, was said to be *cool*, because, from the park, such persons as Mrs. Masham had a mind to bring to her majesty could be let in privately by the garden.”

The queen was at this cottage at Windsor when the news of the victory at Oudenarde reached her. Oudenarde was gained at more than its worth on the Flemish chess-board of war: it cost 2000 men on the victor’s side. “Oh, lord! when will all this dreadful bloodshed cease?”² were the words of queen Anne when she received the news, together with the lists of the killed and wounded. Notwithstanding the grief of heart with which she heard the tidings of these useless slaughters, it was indispensable etiquette for her to return thanks to her general, and public thanksgivings to God for them. The first she performed from her cottage at Windsor, in the following letter:—

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. Anno 1708.

(After the victory of Oudenarde.)

“Windsor, July 6, 1708.

“I want words to express the joy I have that you are well after your glorious success, for which, next to Almighty God, my thanks are due to you. And, indeed, I can never say enough for all the great and faithful services you have ever done me; but be so just as to believe I am as truly sensible of them as a grateful heart can be, and shall be ready to show it upon all occasions. I hope you cannot doubt of my esteem and friendship for you, nor think, because I differ from you in some things, it is for want of either. No; I do assure you, if you were here, I am sure you would not think me so much in the wrong in some things as I fear you do now. I am afraid my letter should come too late to London, and therefore dare say no more, but that I pray God Almighty to continue his protection over you, and send you safe home again. And be assured I shall ever be, sincerely,

“Your humble servant, ANNE, R.”³

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 222.

² Tindal’s Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 104.

³ Ibid.

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